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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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15 February 1984

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

RENMIN RIBAO COMMENTS ON ISLAMIC SUMMIT

HK220728 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jan 84 p 6

["Short" commentary: "Overcome Differences, Strengthen Solidarity"]

[Text] The fourth summit conference of Islamic countries concluded in Casablanca, Morocco, on 19 January, after 4 days in session. The conference was attended by heads of state or their representatives from 42 member countries of the Islamic Conference Organization, including PLO Executive Committee Chairman 'Arafat. They unanimously adopted the "Casablanca Charter." The conference decided to restore Egypt's membership credentials in the Islamic Conference Organization, and also issued important declarations on the Palestinian issue, the Iran-Iraq war, and the situation in Afghanistan. The conference reflected the strong desires of the Islamic countries to preserve solidarity and the efforts they have made to preserve Middle East and world peace.

The present international situation is turbulent, and the Islamic countries are situated in turbulent and troubled regions. Israel's barbaric aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the long-protracted Iran-Iraq war, and U.S. military involvement in the Middle East have posed major problems for the Islamic Conference Organization that urgently need to be solved. The intensified rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, the two superpowers, in Asia and Africa has seriously threatened the peace and security of the Islamic countries, and the peoples of those countries cannot but be seriously concerned and uneasy at that.

In these circumstances, the solidarity of the Islamic countries is of cardinal importance. The Islamic summit's decision to restore the membership qualifications of Egypt in the Islamic Conference Organization shows that in the face of the present grave situation, the countries have realized that it is essential to regard the overall situation as the most important thing, strengthen solidarity, overcome differences, and fight together, so as to avoid presenting an opportunity to others. As Saudi Arabia's King Fahd pointed out, "the spirit of taking collective action is the precondition for the success of the Muslim nations." These words express the foresight and sagacity of the leaders of many Islamic countries.

The Islamic Conference Organization is an important international political force. For the Islamic countries to coordinate their stand and decide on major issues in the Islamic world by means of the Islamic summit is obviously beneficial for preserving the independence, sovereignty, peace, and security of these countries. The Islamic Conference Organization has already contributed to promoting solidarity of the Islamic countries and preserving world peace. We believe that in future international affairs, on the basis of strengthening their solidarity, the Islamic countries are bound to play an ever-greater role in third-world cooperation and development and in preserving world peace and stability.

CSO: 4005/340

GENERAL

RENMIN RIBAO ON DROP IN WORLD GRAIN PRODUCTION

HK300730 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jan 84 p 7

[Article by Guo Jinong [6753 3444 6593]: "World Food Situation"]

[Text] According to statistics of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, in 1983, grain output throughout the world totaled 1,606 million metric tons, or 100 million tons or 6 percent less than that of the year before. It was the greatest fall in grain output in the 38 years since World War II. The drop in output was particularly drastic in the North American countries, where it dropped by 13.7 percent over the year before and was equal in amount to that in 1975. The grain output in developing countries as a whole increased, but the increase was mainly scored in Asia, with output falling in Latin America and Africa. Viewed as a whole, the rate of increase in grain output of the developing countries was much lower than the previous 2 years and was lower than the average output of the 4 years from 1978 to 1982. Output dropped among major grain exporters such as the United States, Canada, Western Europe, and Argentina. Particularly, in the United States it dropped by nearly 40 percent compared with that in 1982.

The drastic fall in world grain output, which was aggravated by the bad effect of long-standing malpractices in the field of grain distribution and circulation in many countries, has caused food problems which have made people throughout the world anxious for a long time to once more become outstanding. According to FAO statistics released last October, the number of countries suffering serious food shortages increased from 26 in the first half of last year to 33. Among them, the food shortages suffered by African countries has particularly aroused people's concern. After years of stagnation in grain production, in 1983, the grain output in Africa dropped again. The per capita grain output was 15 percent lower than 10 years before. Some countries are experiencing social, economic, and political turbulence and the large number of refugees has made the grain shortage even worse. This in turn has had a very unfavorable impact on the grain undertaking in Africa. At its recent 22d general conference, FAO adopted a resolution appealing to all countries and organizations capable of giving aid to do their best to provide assistance to Africa, and requesting that they give 1 million tons of additional food aid above that which they had already promised for the year 1983 and 1984, and to provide emergency relief goods worth \$7.6 million to help the African countries restore agricultural and animal husbandry production.

Because of the reduction in grain output in 1983, the balance of stockpiled food next year will drop from 320 million metric tons to 254 million metric tons, which constitutes only 16 percent of the year's world food output. This means that the world's food supply will greatly rely on grain production. If food production falls again this year, the food problem will be even more serious. The FAO 22d general conference held: "At present, the world food situation has already worsened and become even less reliable and safe."

Under current scientific and technological conditions, the agricultural harvest still relies to a fairly great extent on natural conditions. In 1983, weather conditions in the world were relatively unfavorable. In the area to the south of Sahel in Africa and in the agricultural areas in the United States, there was prolonged drought. The weather was also unfavorable in the mainland of Europe. All this had a bad impact on grain production that cannot be overlooked.

However, the most fundamental factor is the current irrational economic structure of agriculture in the world. Though the more than 3 years of economic recession in the Western economy has been eased in some countries, its impact on the economies of the developing countries, particularly its harmful impact on the development of world agriculture, is still far from being removed. Because of the serious impact of the Western developed countries' practice of shifting the economic crisis to other countries and strengthening agricultural protectionism, the trade prices of the agricultural products of many developing countries with agricultural products as their major exports have fallen and it has been hard for them to sell their agricultural products. Their trade income has been reduced and trade conditions have continued to worsen. This often has forced them to reduce production and caused many agricultural workers to lose their jobs. Many developing countries that rely on importing fertilizer, pesticides, and agricultural machinery to develop food production have been forced to reduce their import of these goods because they could not afford them or they had no money to subsidize their peasants for the purchase of these goods. For example, during 1982 and 1983, the consumption of fertilizer in the developing countries fell for the first time since the World War II. Combined with other factors such as bad weather, social and economic turbulence, war and civil strife, this caused a depression in food production in many developing countries and, in some cases, even caused a reduction in food production.

The prolonged world economic recession also has had its harmful impact on food and other agricultural production in developing countries. In order to protect their interests in grain trade, during the past few years, they have implemented their respective "plans for compensation payment in terms of type of crops" to encourage farmers to greatly reduce the area of grain cultivation. Last year, the corn harvest was the smallest in the United States in more than 100 years and the area sown to sorghum also was the smallest since the mid-1950s.

The above facts show that grain production is closely linked and interacts with the development of the international economic situation as a whole. From this point of view, in looking ahead at the world grain situation this year, we should neither be blindly optimistic nor have any reasons to adopt a pessimistic and passive attitude.

The large number of developing countries are faced with various kinds of difficulties in their grain production, but at present they also have some favorable conditions: Some developing countries have already realized the importance of developing grain production and are, therefore, readjusting their agricultural policies and adopting some policies and measures to facilitate the development of their grain production and improve their grain distribution. Some developing countries have adhered to the policies of "collective self-reliance," and adopted measures to facilitate the strengthening of their efforts to ensure grain supply. The international trade conditions for certain kinds of agricultural products have begun to improve and this contributes to the accumulation of funds for the development of grain production in the countries that export these products. Some developing countries already have intermediate technical experience in developing grain production.

Judging by the international grain trade at present, the stimulus of prices facilitates promoting the development of grain production. The U.S. Government already has decided to grow double crops on 20 million hectares of land in order to increase grain production. Other grain exporting countries also are tending to restore and increase their grain production. The current natural conditions in the southern hemisphere are very good and a good harvest is hopeful for 1984 in Latin America, Australia, and Southern Africa. However, in order to achieve an increase in grain production all over the world, it is necessary to work hard and to carry out sincere cooperation in the international community.

CSO: 4005/350

UNITED STATES

INCREASED SOVIET SUBMARINE ACTIVITY NEAR U.S. COAST

OW282023 Beijing XINHUA in English 1613 GMT 28 Jan 84

[Text] Beijing, 28 Jan (XINHUA)--Unusual patrol activities in recent days by more sophisticated Soviet submarines, the Delta II class, have been seen off the American East Coast, press reports reaching here said Friday.

The reports quoted U.S. official sources as saying that at least two Delta IIs carrying nuclear missiles with a range of 4,800 miles (over 7,700 km) have appeared in the Atlantic, about 1,000 miles (1,600 km) off the American East Coast and a third is heading toward the same area.

The appearance of the Delta II class submarines will help shorten the time to eight to twelve minutes for Soviet ballistic missiles to reach targets in the United States if fired from these submarines compared with 25 to 30 minutes if fired from Soviet home waters, the reports noted.

The reports said about seven Soviet submarines including the older types of Yankee and Echo classes have been spotted off the U.S. East and West coasts in the past week. Normally, the Soviet Union keeps only one or two submarines of the older type off each coast.

The Soviet move is seen as a second-stage retaliation for the U.S. deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe, following the Soviet deployment of SS-20 and SS-22 missiles in Eastern Europe.

The Soviet move is considered to be of more political than military significance.

CSO: 4000/190

UNITED STATES

RENMIN RIBAO CITES U.S. MEDIA ON ZHAO'S VISIT

HK181020 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jan 84 p 6

[Report: "Premier Zhao's U.S. Visit Attracts Worldwide Attention, Arouses Broad Interest and Strong Reaction in U.S. Media"]

[Text] The week-long official visit to the United States by Premier Zhao Ziyang has ended satisfactorily. It aroused broad interest and strong reaction in U.S. media.

The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR said in an article: "Washington and Beijing view the exchange of visits between Zhao and Reagan as a matter of great symbolic significance. Their reciprocal visits are indeed unprecedented." This "marks an important stage in consolidating political and economic relations between China and the United States." It is helpful to resuming summit dialogues between the two countries on major international problems. In another article, the paper said: "President Reagan must try to make clear to the Chinese in a persuadable manner that the United States sincerely desires to play a major role in supporting China's long-term modernization program."

The WALL STREET JOURNAL published a commentary on 13 January, noting : Premier Zhao Ziyang's visit to the United States indicates that "the 5-year-long Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations have entered a steady and normal stage." It held: "The far-reaching outcome of the visit will probably result in promoting new trade relations between China and U.S. advanced technology firms."

In a report on 12 January, UPI pointed out: "Reagan warmly welcomes China as a friendly nation and economic partner of the United States, thus regaining momentum in Sino-U.S. relations, which were disturbed by disputes over U.S. arms sales to Taiwan and the problem of textile products."

A VOA commentary noted: "We warmly welcome Premier Zhao who comes to Washington for two major purposes--peace and modernization." A Chinese saint once said: "A thousand-li journey begins by taking the first step." The first step on the path toward improving Sino-U.S. relations had already been taken before Premier Zhao's visit to our country. His visit is another step forward. All in all, every step is as important as the first step."

In an editorial on 10 January, THE WASHINGTON POST pointed out: "The arrival of Zhao Ziyang today indicates that Reagan has achieved great success by giving up some of his previous political views and considering U.S. interests from a still wider angle. For a President like Mr Reagan who has such views and constituency, it is probably not easy to do so."

The BALTIMORE SUN carried an editorial on 11 January saying: "The visit of Premier Zhao Ziyang to Washington and the scheduled visit of President Reagan to China in April are very encouraging."

In a report on 12 January, UPI held that the two agreements signed by China and the United States on industrial and technological cooperation and on scientific and technological cooperation "laid a foundation for U.S. Business circles to make investment and arrange industrial projects in this most populated developing country in the world."

An article carried by the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR said: "At present, the greatest potential for expanding relations lies in the field of bilateral economic cooperation."

People from all walks of life in the United States, especially Chinese nationals residing there and Americans of Chinese origin, have strongly reacted to Premier Zhao Ziyang's important speech in San Francisco on the reunification of the motherland. According to an AP report, (Tom Fenger), a responsible person of the U.S.-Chinese relations project at Stanford University, said that Premier Zhao's speech was a "welcome development." He said: "As compared with some previous statements, this speech used less terminology and sounded less ambiguous."

Wang Lingzhi of the Asian Studies Department of the University of California said that this speech was "significant" and "might win more favorable reactions from Americans of Chinese origin to the issue of reunification."

In a report on 12 January, AP pointed out: The 3-day talks between Premier Zhao Ziyang and President Reagan "gave expression to friendship and cooperation and also made obvious the differences between them."

In a report on 12 January, UPI quoted some U.S. officials as saying: "Zhao Ziyang's visit was successful, but no breakthrough was made on the Taiwan issue."

In a report on 13 January, the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR pointed out: "The major difference between the two sides remain in the Taiwan issue. In the talks here, both sides reiterated their respective, consistent positions on this issue. However, some specialists noted that Premier Zhao had helped ease the strained atmosphere over this issue."

In a report on [12?] January, UPI said: Premier Zhao has "a forthright character and quick wit" and "enjoys popularity."

In a report on 15 January, THE NEW YORK TIMES pointed out: "In this visit, Premier Zhao displayed a style that many Chinese people like to see--he showed a realistic attitude and self-confidence without putting on airs, and he acted in an easygoing manner."

UNITED STATES

RENMIN RIBAO ON AMERICAN'S IMPRESSIONS OF CHINA

OW181144 Beijing XINHUA in English 1047 GMT 18 Jan 84

[Text] Beijing, 18 Jan (XINHUA)--Rush-hour traffic, surprising numbers of people visible on city streets and in shops and the variety of clothes the Chinese wear are among the impressions of an American traveller who spent a few weeks recently in China.

The traveller, Betty Bently, is professor emeritus of English at Syracuse University. Today's CHINA DAILY carries an article by her under the headline "An Emotional Reaction to China."

"The emotional reaction is clear," Professor Bently writes. "I found the country beautiful and its apparent drive toward technological and human improvement exciting, its people for the most part warm and engaging."

She found transportation was a problem for Chinese and tourists alike, "a problem with which more computers might help but which they could not solve."

Different from foreign travellers to China ten years ago, she observed that the Chinese were not clad in only sombre colors nor in garments of a single cut.

"Most of the adults I encountered appeared to be well fed and clothed; there were no beggars. Nor were there drunks," the article says.

As for Chinese children, she says that "it was good not only to see how handsome and able they were but to realize that their varying aptitudes were being fostered outside of the school routine; that they were regarded as individuals, not homogeneous units in a mass."

In the countryside she was impressed by the "superbly kept farmlands" and the fact that every bit of arable land appeared to be cultivated.

But, in view of the careful cultivation of farmlands, she found especially surprising the apparent lack of basic cleanliness and neatness she saw in a commune clinic.

In contrast to homes and clinics, she writes, hotels and guest houses are clean, comfortable and well appointed. "China appears to be trying to make the life of foreign visitors altogether pleasurable."

China's progress in many areas is "apparent and rapid," she says. "I'm eager for a return trip."

CSO: 4000/189

UNITED STATES

RENMIN RIBAO ON CONFLICTS IN U.S. HUNGER PROBE

HK261410 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jan84 p 7

["International Jottings" by Ti Fu [2748 1133]: "More Investigation Only Makes the Picture More Murky"]

[Text] Does the United States have the grave problem of hunger? In August 1983, the U.S. Government sent a 13-member "work team" to investigate the matter. After 4 months' investigation, spending 320,000, the work team finally drew the following conclusion: "We are unable to prove that there exists a grave problem of hunger" and "we cannot tell who or how many people are suffering from hunger."

A number of mass organizations and figures in the medical profession were surprised at these remarks because they found after investigation that the daily increasing grave problem of hunger actually existed in the United States. Aimed at the report made by the "work team," a medical center in Atlanta immediately issued figures indicating that among children under 6 years old in families in straitened circumstances in the United States, 500,000 were "suffering from malnutrition." In its 23 January issue, the TIMES reported: After the survey made in five states, Senator Edward Kennedy pointed out that the report made by the "work team" is "obviously trying to conceal the daily increasing grave problem of hunger in the United States."

So the purpose of the U.S. Government in sending the "work team" was to attempt to defend the act taken for cutting food subsidies in the budget. The TIMES also said: After cutting the food stamps program in the budget, 1 million people no longer receive food stamps, 20 million people get less food stamps than before, and 2.6 million children no longer have lunch provided by their schools. Under such circumstances, how can the "work team" sent by the government make people believe that the expenses curtailed in the food budget "has not caused a sudden increase of hunger."

The TIMES pointed out: The important officials of the "work team" were actually "master designers" of the U.S. federal budget, of which one was the assistant director of the Office of Management and Budget. He was also the man who put forward the proposal of cutting the food stamp program in the budget. Now that they are required to make self-investigation, it is quite certain that more investigation will only make the picture more murky.

CSO: 4005/341

UNITED STATES

BRIEFS

CHINA FRIENDSHIP GATE IN PHILADELPHIA--New York, 31 Jan (XINHUA)--A street-spanning "China gate" in Philadelphia was formally dedicated at a public ceremony this morning, according to a report from that city. The three-story-high gate standing at the entrance to Philadelphia's Chinatown community was constructed as a result of the "friendship-city" relationship between Philadelphia and Tianjin, a major industrial city in China. Philadelphia Mayor W. Wilson Goode and Vice-Mayor of Tianjin Li Lanqing attended the dedication ceremony. Vice-Mayor Li is leading a delegation of Tianjin foreign trade officials to further increase the cultural, academic and commercial exchanges between the cities which have already been set up. Philadelphia was one of the first U.S. cities to formally establish such a "friendship-city" relationship with a Chinese city. Construction of the gate was financed by the city of Philadelphia. The city of Tianjin provided consultants, craftsmen, and authentic building materials and decorative tiles. [Text] [OW010324 Beijing XINHUA in English 0158 GMT 1 Feb 84]

CSO: 4000/190

NORTHEAST ASIA

BRIEFS

S. KOREAN OPPOSITION PARTY PRESS CONFERENCE--According to a Western news report, the Democratic Korea Party [DKP] [Minju Hanguktang], the major opposition party in South Korea, demanded a revision of the constitution and direct presidential election yesterday. Speaking at a press conference, the leader of the DKP said that the current system of indirect presidential election should be converted into the direct vote system. He urged the South Korean authorities to remove various restrictions on political activities, to ensure freedom of press, to release (?detained) rivals, and to reinstate the lectures of the expelled professors, and the expelled students of the autonomous activities. He also demanded of the South Korean authorities that Kim Tae-chung, the banished leader of the democratic movement, be allowed to return to South Korea at his own free will. [Text] [SK230114 Beijing International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 22 Jan 84]

CSO: 4107/075

WESTERN EUROPE

NORWAY EXPELS FIVE SOVIET DIPLOMATS, FOUR OTHERS' RETURN BARRED

OW021710 Beijing XINHUA in English 1649 GMT 2 Feb 84

[Text] Stockholm, 2 Feb (XINHUA)--The Norwegian Government decided yesterday to expel five Soviet diplomats, the Swedish newspaper SVENSKA DAGBLADET reported today.

Norwegian Foreign Minister Sverre Stray summoned Soviet Ambassador Dmitriy Polyansky to inform him of the Norwegian Government's decision, which also includes a ban on the return of four other Soviet diplomats who had worked in Norway before.

Stray also delivered a message of protest to the ambassador, charging that the nine Soviet diplomats were involved in the case of former Norwegian Foreign Ministry press chief Arne Treholt, who was identified as a spy for the Soviet intelligence agency KGB and arrested last month when he was carrying classified documents to meet Soviet officials in Vienna.

At a press conference following meeting with the Soviet ambassador, Stray said his government had attached great importance to its relations with the Soviet Union, but the Treholt incident damaged trust between the two countries. He held the Russians responsible for deteriorating the Norwegian-Soviet ties.

The Soviet Embassy afterwards in a press communique said Norway's action was without good grounds, aimed at casting discredit on the Soviet foreign policy.

CSO: 4000/193

WESTERN EUROPE

NORWEGIAN SENIOR OFFICIAL ARRESTED FOR SPYING

OW241129 Beijing XINHUA in English 1030 GMT 24 Jan 84

[Text] Stockholm, 23 Jan (XINHUA)--Norwegian Prime Minister Kare Willoch said today that a recent spy scandal will harm the relations between Norway and the Soviet Union, according to reports from Oslo.

He was speaking after an emergency cabinet session held today to discuss what is believed to be one of the biggest spy scandals since World War Two.

"Our country has suffered great damage," Willoch said. The case "puts a severe strain on Norway's relations with the Soviet Union for which the Soviet Union itself must take full responsibility," he added.

The spy case concerned Arne Treholt, 41, head of information for the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, who was arrested on January 20 with secret documents as he leaving the country to meet members of the Soviet Intelligence Agency (KGB).

A statement issued by the chief Norwegian Government prosecutor said that "he has admitted to having had several meetings with representatives of the KGB and to having handed over secret documents."

Treholt held one of the most trusted positions at the Norwegian Foreign Ministry and had access to a wide range of Norwegian and NATO classified documents, a high ranking ministry official said.

Before being named as the press chief, Treholt was chief assistant to Jens Evensen, Norway's representative in the Law of the Sea negotiations and Oslo's chief negotiator in talks with the Soviets to define the Soviet-Norwegian demarcation line in the Barents Sea.

CSO: 4000/187

WESTERN EUROPE

MITTERRAND, KOHL DISCUSS EUROPEAN ISSUES

OW030851 Beijing XINHUA in English 0646 GMT 3 Feb 84

[Text] Bonn, 2 Feb (XINHUA)--French President Francois Mitterrand met with Federal German Chancellor Helmut Kohl today in the border city of Edenkoben on the Federal German side for discussions focusing on the most pressing problems facing the European Economic Community (EEC).

The meeting, termed a "private encounter" instead of a "regular one" between the two leaders, was called to discuss a "special role" to be played by France and Federal Germany during French chairmanship of the EEC in the first half of this year in solving the EEC's problems--agricultural policy, financial contributions to the community and Spanish and Portuguese entry into the EEC.

In the past year, the European Community has foundered due to internal disputes which have weakened its ability to act in concert in the political and diplomatic fields and curtailed its role in world politics, a major concern of both countries.

The Federal German news agency DPA reported that there was no "decisive progress" made at today's three-hour meeting, but that both sides had stressed their desire to solve the crisis in the community before EEC leaders meet in March.

On bilateral issues, Mitterrand reportedly advanced new proposals on border taxes levied on farm products, a long-standing controversial issues between the two countries, and on cuts in agricultural subsidies by EEC member countries.

The two leaders will meet again this month in Paris and Mitterrand is also to hold consultations with EEC leaders in February in preparation for the summit on March 19.

Sources close to the government in Bonn indicate that the prime task facing the Kohl government in the first half of this year is a confront "European issues."

CSO: 4000/193

WESTERN EUROPE

BRIEFS

USSR'S ARKHIPOV VISITS FRANCE--Paris, 31 Jan (XINHUA)--Soviet First Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers I. V. Arkhipov said here today that his talks with French President Francois Mitterrand marked a common aspiration of the two countries to strengthen their cooperation. Speaking to reporters after his talks with Mitterrand, Arkhipov said there are "enormous potentialities" of exchanges between the two countries in the fields of economy, trade, science and technology. He said that he has made some specific proposals to the French president. Arkhipov, who arrived here last Sunday for a five-day official visit to France, said that he has conveyed to Mitterrand Soviet leader Yuriy Andropov's aspiration for the development of "sincere relationship" between the two countries. Arkhipov has met with French Government ministers Claude Cheysson, Jacques Delors, Mme Edith Cresson and Laurent Fabius. He also met with French Premier Pierre Mauroy today and signed an agreement on French-Soviet long-term economic cooperation. Observers here believed that Arkhipov's visit might put some fresh air in the French-Soviet relationship. [Text] [OW011417 Beijing XINHUA in English 1128 GMT 1 Feb 84]

UK, USSR DESIRE IMPROVED RELATIONS--London, 2 Feb (XINHUA)--Britain and the Soviet Union today stressed the need for improved links between the two countries in an exchange of messages marking the 60th anniversary of the establishment of their diplomatic relations. British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe, in his message to Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko, said the British Government had the genuine desire to develop relations in the future "with the aim of increasing our mutual understanding of each other's concerns and interests." On this basis we can hope to build a relationship--politically, economically and in other areas--which will contribute to a safer and more prosperous world," the foreign secretary said. Recalling the history of the Soviet-British relations, the Soviet Foreign Ministry in its message pointed out that "the positive development of relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain can be a significant contribution" to improving the international situation. [Text] [OW030230 Beijing XINHUA in English 0220 GMT 3 Feb 84]

ITALIAN CP LEADER ON WORLD ISSUES--Athens, 31 Jan (XINHUA)--General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party Enrico Berlinguer told a press conference here today that the final target of his party's present efforts and initiatives was an Europe free of nuclear missiles. He also expressed his readiness

to meet with Soviet leader Yuriy Andropov to discuss the problem. Berlinguer was here on a two-day visit starting Monday. He said that the Italian Communist Party backed the initiatives of some European leaders and peace movements for a moratorium in the development of nuclear arms in both Eastern and Western Europe and voiced support for the Greek Government's initiative for a denuclearization of the Balkans. He said his party fully supported Canadian Premier Pierre Trudeau's proposal for nuclear disarmament and the relaxation of world tension. On Cyprus problems, Berlinguer reiterated that the Turkish-Cypriot unilateral declaration of an independent state in the occupied northern part of the island was unacceptable to international justice. [Text] [OW311626 Beijing XINHUA in English 1503 GMT 31 Jan 84]

CSO: 4000/193

EASTERN EUROPE

SFRY 'APPRECIATES' ZHAO ZIYANG'S U.S. VISIT

OW140941 Beijing XINHUA in English 0652 GMT 14 Jan 84

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jan (XINHUA)--Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Lazar Mojsov told a press conference here today that Yugoslavia appreciates Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang's visit to the United States and hopes that the visit will be conducive to China and the United States and to the whole world.

Answering a question, he said, "Under the present tense situation the world over, if certain problems in the relations between the two countries could be solved during the visit it will be beneficial not only to cooperation and understanding between China and the United States but also to the building-up of an atmosphere for dialogue and mutual trust."

On the latest proposal put forth by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for "tripartite talks" with the South Korean authorities and the United States, he said that Yugoslavia fully supports the proposal and all other proposals for the reunification of Korea.

Referring to the forthcoming Stockholm conference on disarmament and security in Europe, Mojsov said that Belgrade would endorse all proposals and constructive initiatives conducive to a renewal of negotiations and the reduction of tension in Europe.

He pointed out that the non-aligned countries, "as an impartial and independent voice", may make an important contribution at the Stockholm conference, especially at moments of stagnation in negotiations.

CSO: 4000/188

EASTERN EUROPE

YUGOSLAV PRESIDENT LEAVES FOR VISIT TO U.S.

OW311910 Beijing XINHUA in English 1855 GMT 31 Jan 84

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jan (XINHUA)--Mika Spiljak, president of the presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, left here this afternoon for an official visit to the United States.

The Yugoslav side stressed that the differences between Yugoslavia and the United States on current international political and economic problems did not constitute an obstacle to the continued effective cooperation between the two countries.

In an interview with XINHUA, Ambassador M. Zupan, responsible personnel in charge of research on international relations of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, described the relations between Yugoslavia and the United States as a very important part of Yugoslavia's international relations. At present, the relations and cooperation between the two countries are very good.

He noted that President Spiljak's visit to the United States is a step to continue such good relations. The U.S. is one of the main partners of Yugoslavia's economic relations with foreign countries, he added.

In the past two decades, the two countries held five summit talks. Spiljak's forthcoming meeting with the American President will be the first ever held since the death of the late President Tito.

It is disclosed that economic issues will be the main topic in the summit.

TANJUG's commentary pointed out that cooperation between the two countries should be conducive to their interests and should be based on equality, mutual benefit and respect to each other's special characteristics.

CSO: 4000/192

EASTERN EUROPE

SFRY OFFICIAL BLAMES SUPERPOWER CONTENTION

OW011431 Beijing XINHUA in English 1124 GMT 1 Feb 84

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jan (XINHUA--M. Zupan, ambassador of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, told XINHUA here today that international relations are deteriorating mainly because of the tensions and fierce contention between the two superpowers.

He said that Yugoslavia will continue working against arms race and for the development of good international relations.

Zupan noted that the worsening relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have had impact on the European situation. And there the missile crisis in Europe is precisely the product of the arms race between the two superpowers.

Zupan pointed out that the U.S. deployment of Pershing II missiles in Western Europe and the Soviet deployment of new missiles in Eastern Europe have made the European situation more intense and the arms race more keen. Yugoslavia's position on the issue is clear: resolutely opposing the deployment of more missiles in Europe, he declared.

He added that Yugoslavia, as a country of non-aligned, non-bloc country without nuclear weapons, will exert its effort to the utmost to prevent the present crisis from worsening. It will strive for better international relations and better mutual understanding between countries.

CSO: 4000/192

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

CANADA DEVELOPING TIES WITH THIRD WORLD

HK250611 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jan 84 p 6

[Article by Gu Yaoming [7357 5069 6900]: "Canada Attaches Importance To Developing Its Relations With the Third World"]

[Text] The Trudeau government of Canada attaches importance to its relations with the Third World nations and regards this as an important content of its foreign policy.

In recent years, Canada has established extensive ties with developing countries. In international contacts, it has paid attention to heeding and respecting the opinions of Third World nations and supported or sympathized with their just demands. It has stressed mutual reliance between the South and the North and upheld the gradual establishment of a new international economic order through negotiations. It has urged the reform of international financial institutions for the benefit of developing countries which are improving their economies and reducing their financial deficits and debts. It has actively called on developed countries to make more commitments to provide developing countries with aid. It has also called on the IMF and the World Bank to give the Third World nations more funds and technology in order to help them develop their economies.

Canada also believes that dialogue between South and North will play an important role in solving international economic problems and in stabilizing the world situation. It is active in promoting North-South dialogue and in calling on various quarters to adopt a flexible stance, so that they will achieve mutual understanding and promote their cooperation.

In world affairs, Canada maintains that developing countries should not be involved in international clashes and favors the independence and nonalignment of these countries. With regard to the problem of Kampuchea, the Canadian Government has repeatedly condemned Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea, and has pointed out that this action of the Vietnamese had led to the instability in the Southeast Asian region. When Premier Trudeau was visiting the five ASEAN nations, he stressed that steps should be taken to urge Vietnam to withdraw its troops and to ensure that the Kampuchean people had the right to decide their future without any outside interference. With regard to the Soviet invasion

of Afghanistan, the Canadian Government has condemned Soviet interference in Afghan internal affairs and its violation of the territorial integrity and independence of the country. The Canadian Government has strongly demanded that the Soviet Union withdraw its troops from Afghanistan and restore the independent and nonaligned status of the country. With regard to the problems of Central America, Canada opposes any country's interference in the internal affairs of Central American countries. It has supported the peace proposal, put forth by the four nations of the Contradora Group, aimed at stabilizing the situation in the region.

Among Western countries, Canada is a country which has provided relatively more aid to the Third World nations. When providing foreign aid, it has mainly adopted the method of bilateral aid between governments and providing aid through international financial institutions. During the period 1981 to 1982, Canada provided economic aid to developing countries totaling \$1.478 billion [Canadian dollars], which was 0.44 percent of its GNP. Foreign aid provided by Canada ranks 8th among the 17 countries of the OECD. Its foreign aid is mainly provided to the poorest developing nations, on terms more favorable than those of other Western nations.

The reason the Canadian Government is actively developing its relations with Third World countries is that it believes that during the 1970's and 1980's fundamental changes have taken place in the world. It also maintains that if a country wants to survive and develop, it has to break out of the pattern set after World War II and adopt a new attitude and ways to adapt itself to the changes in the world situation. Since assuming power again in early 1980, Premier Trudeau has exerted his efforts to expand the influence and role of Canada in the international arena, and to implement a foreign policy independent of the United States. Canada has followed multilateralism in its foreign policy to strive for a world characterized by a balance of power and mutual restriction.

Canada is one of the main Western industrial countries. Due to its limited internal market, its economic development has depended, to a large extent, on foreign trade. Its total trade volume in 1982 was \$148.9 billion [Canadian dollars], 43 percent of its GNP. About 65 percent of the commodities needed at home are imported. Therefore, with regard to some world economic problems, Canada shares, in a number of aspects, a common language with developing countries. In the early 1970's, Canada put forth a policy of a "third choice" in order to reduce its excessive reliance on the United States. In other words, while maintaining its traditional partnership relations with the United States, it has striven to strengthen its relations with the EEC and Japan in order to diversify its international economic relations. In the early 1980's, due to the severe influence of the recession in the Western economy, the Trudeau government further expanded the policy of the "third choice" in order to develop its economic ties with the countries around the Pacific, the Middle East, Latin America, and other regions. It has also developed its trade relations with developing countries in order to enlarge its commodity markets, increase its trade volume, and satisfy domestic economic demands.

As an developed industrial country, Canada is actively developing its relations with the Third World nations and promoting North-South dialogue. This is a matter of positive significance in easing world tension and promoting international economic cooperation. Therefore, those efforts are praised by many developing countries.

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

RENMIN RIBAO ON CENTRAL AMERICAN CONFERENCE

HK070830 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jan 84 p 7

[Commentary by RENMIN RIBAO correspondent Yao Chuntao [1202 2504 3447]: "People Hope To See Peace in Central America"]

[Text] Mexico City, 5 Jan--A conference of nine Latin American foreign ministers to discuss how to achieve peace in Central America is scheduled to be held in Panama from 7 to 9 January. This will be the fifth joint meeting of foreign ministers of the four countries of the Contadora group and five Central American countries.

This conference is being held 1 year after the establishment of the Contadora Group. One year ago, the foreign ministers of Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, and Panama met on Contadora Island to analyze the situation in Central America. They expressed profound disquiet at direct and indirect foreign meddling in this region and held that the countries of Central America should hold dialogues and talks to eliminate foreign intervention, and their conflicts, bridge their differences, and establish friendly neighbor relations; and other countries should work to promote such dialogues and talks. That such an anniversary time has been chosen for the holding of the fifth conference of nine foreign ministers all the more highlights its importance.

On the eve of the conference, a number of Latin American leaders and newspapers have highly praised the efforts of the Contradora Group over the past year for the sake of peace in Central America. They have universally held that the situation in Central America was very tense throughout 1983, and but for the diplomatic mediation of the Contadora Group, the armed conflicts in the region might have expanded further and even developed into all-out war.

Latin American figures in Mexico say that the peace efforts of the Contadora Group will certainly bear fruit, because this group upholds justice and the interests of Latin America, and its activities have not only gained support from the countries of Latin America but have also been supported and praised by other countries in the world and by the international community.

However, people also clearly realize that while it is undoubtedly true that the turmoil in Central America has profound social, political, and economic

causes, superpower rivalry is its external root. However, by the present situation, meddling and intervention by the big powers is becoming even more conspicuous. The civil war in El Salvador and the border conflict between Honduras and Nicaragua have become ever fiercer due to external meddling. The situation in Central America cannot be stabilized without first eliminating foreign intervention. After the U.S. armed invasion of Grenada, certain Nicaraguan figures in Mexico pointed out that while the U.S. leaders kept on saying that they supported the peace efforts of the Contadora group, in fact they wanted to use it to put political pressure on Central American countries, to force the Nicaraguan Government to accept Washington's terms, and force the El Salvador guerrillas to lay down their arms.

In the face of this situation, after their urgent meeting in Cancun in mid-July, the leaders of the four Contadora group countries cabled President Reagan and Cuban President Castro, demanding that they work together with the Contadora group to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Central American problems. Later, the four Contadora group countries and five Central American countries together adopted a "document of intention" for easing the situation in Central America, which stipulated specific measures to be taken.

The fifth conference of nine foreign ministers which is about to open will, apart from possibly adopting a Central American peace treaty, specifically discuss a proposal on "principles for implementing the commitments in the 'document of intention.'" This proposal was put forward by the foreign ministers of the four Contadora group countries after gathering the views of the five Central American countries. It makes further specific elucidations on the principles of nonintervention, people's self-determination, and so on. The people here all hope that this foreign ministerial conference will adopt not only a peace treaty but also specific guidelines for advancing toward peace.

CSO: 4005/342

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO CARRIES MAO ZEDONG'S LETTERS

HK090915 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Dec 83 pp 1-4

["Twenty-three Letters by Comrade Mao Zedong From the 'Selection of Mao Zedong's Letters'"]

[Text] Editor's note: To commemorate the 90th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Mao Zedong, the Research Office of Party Literature of the CPC Central Committee has edited and published the "Selection of Mao Zedong's Letters." Here, our newspaper carries some of these letters. Most of them have never been published before. [end editor's note]

To Song Qingling (18 September 1936)

Dear Madame Qingling:

Ten years have passed since last we met in Wuhan. We always hold great esteem for you whenever we see in newspapers or hear from some comrades coming from other places your words and deeds aimed at saving the country through revolution. After 1927, only you and our comrades are still adhering to Mr Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary spirit to save the country. Although the people throughout the country are now eagerly appealing for an end to the civil war and a united effort to resist the Japanese aggressors, Mr Chiang¹ who is commanding the army, and the Central Committee of the KMT have not changed their minds. Their acts, which run counter to the revolutionary three-people's principles and the three great policies advocated by Mr Sun Yat-sen, are in fact intolerable to the majority of KMT members and must be corrected immediately. Therefore, I think you should be reminded of your role as a member of the KMT Central Committee, in the actual efforts to warn the responsible people of the KMT central authorities of the misery of national subjugation, the irresistible will of the people, and urge them to immediately forsake their erroneous policies. I now send Comrade Pan Hannian² to express our opinions on the establishment of a united front in detail and to consult you about the methods to carry out open activities. Would you please contact him and provide him with necessary assistance. Enclosed please find a copy of our letter to the KMT Central Committee for your reference.³ By the way, would you please also introduce to Comrade Hannian the members of the KMT central authorities who you have been keeping in relatively close touch with, such as Wu Zhihui, Kong Xiangxi, Song Ziwen, Li Shizeng, Cai Yuanpei, and Sun Ke.⁴ Your valuable help will be highly appreciated.

With best regards,

Mao Zedong

On the 5th anniversary of the 18 September Incident

FOOTNOTES

1. 1. Refers to Chiang Kai-shek.
2. Pan Hannian (1906-1977), a native of Yixing, Jiangsu Province, then the representative of the CPC to hold negotiations with the KMT authorities.
3. Refers to "A Letter From the CPC to the KMT" dated 25 August 1936, which elaborated the CPC's policy on the establishment of an anti-Japanese national united front and the resumption of the cooperation between the two parties.
4. Wu Zhizhui (1865-1953), a native of Wujin, Jiangsu Province, then a member of the supervisory committee of the KMT Central Committee; Kong Xiangxi (1880-1967), a native of Taigu, Shanxi Province, then vice premier of the Executive Yuan and minister of finance of the KMT Government; Song Ziwen (1894-1971), a native of Wenchang, Guangdong Province, then chairman of national Economic Committee of the KMT Government and president of the Bank of China; Li Zhizeng (1881-1973), a native of Gaoyang, Hebei Province, then a member of the Supervisory Committee of the KMT Central Committee and director of the Beiping Research Institute; and Cai Yuanpei, then president of the Academia Sinica in Nanjing. For further detail please see footnote 1 to the letter "To Cai Yuanpei (22 September 1936)."

To Cai Yuanpei¹

FOOTNOTES

1. Cai Yuanpei (1868-1940), alias Jiemin, a native of Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province, who opposed the feudal autocratic rule of the Qing Dynasty in his early years, and became one of the founders of Guang Fu Hui [a revolutionary organization seeking establishment of a Republic of China]. In late 1916, he was appointed chancellor of Beijing University. He vigorously supported the patriotic movement initiated by students during the period of the May 4th movement. He held the office of director of the Academia Sinica in Nanjing since 1928. He called for resistance to the Japanese aggressors after the September 18th incident and became vice chairman of the Chinese League To Safeguard Democratic Rights. He died of illness in Hong Kong in 1940.

(22 September 1936)

Dear Mr Jiemin:

Twenty years have passed since the period of the May 4th movement when I had the honor to listen to your great speeches at Beijing University, at meetings in the onetime capital, and at the forums held in Changsha. And today, we have arrived at a critical point when the fate of our nation and state hangs in the balance. Our people throughout the country, poor and rich, from all walks of life, of all beliefs, and of all generations, older like you, middle-aged like me, and younger like the students today, are going to fall into the clutches of the alien aggressors. Our territory, our people, and all our cities, will no longer belong to us. How would you react to such an unprecedented national

subjugation and genocide? The CPC is now appealing for the establishment of an anti-Japanese national united front. This proposal has won the support of the people and, we believe, will also win your support. Those who are in power either reject our proposal or insist on suspending it. Refusing to resist the robbers who have intruded our home and fight the tiger which is attacking our people, the authorities are driving the people into a hopeless situation and forcing them to resign themselves to death. Witnessing what they are doing, what action are you going to take? Mr Sun Yat-sen's policy of allying with Russia and the CPC and supporting the workers and the peasants was proved successful during the first great revolution from 1925 to 1927. The period of the cooperation between the KMT and the CPC was one when the KMT was most revolutionary. As soon as Mr Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary policy was forsaken, the civil war broke out and was carried on and our nation is faced with endless foreign aggression! Although the policy which we proposed in the letter from the CPC to the KMT dated 22 August² suggested nothing new, it is in fact the best way to save our nation. How do you feel about this policy? I have read the "Proposal on a New Writing System" and found that it was you who headed the undersigned of this joint letter. Not only the CPC and I but also innumerable people, you should know, are delighted to hear that you, our Revered Mr Jiemin, have adopted a new viewpoint today, after 20 years! And also, undoubtedly, not only I, myself, and the CPC but all loyal children of our whole nation are excited to hear, from our comrades and friends, that you are supporting the cause of resistance to the Japanese aggressors and saving the country. However, we still hope that you will further carry forward patriotism and take the lead in giving greater support to our cause; that you, as a national hero who took part in the founding of the Guang Fu Hui and the Tong Meng Hui, and as the director of the Academia Sinica, and leader in academic circles, will make vigorous efforts to turn the tide at the crucial moment of our nation's fate; that you not only will support but also personally engage in and encourage others to join the cause, strongly urging the Nanjing authorities to stop civil war immediately, to give up their wrong policy of yielding to foreigners and suppressing dissidents at home, and their erroneous guideline of punishment for patriots but reward for traitors which will lead to national subjugation, to mobilize the entire army, navy, and air force throughout the country to launch a real war against the Japanese aggressors, to resume the revolutionary three people's principles and the three great policies laid down by Mr Sun Yat-sen, redeem our 450 million compatriots from misery, convene a meeting on resistance to the Japanese aggressors and national salvation in which all parties, all factions, all circles, and all armies are represented, set up a national congress through election by the people, establish a unified government to resist foreign aggression, to build a real democratic republic, and thus make the country prosper and liberate the nation. If you can do so, you will be extolled by the people throughout the country and will leave a reputation which will go down to posterity. Would you not disappoint those who have benefitted from your enlightenment and now live a hundred li away from you, but vigorously inspire them with courage?

Making use of this opportunity, I would like to extend my regards to Mme Song Qingling, Mme He Xiangning, Mr Li Shizeng, Mr Wu Zhihui, Mr Zhang Puquan, Mr Yu Youren, Mr Sun Zhesheng, Mr Ju Juesheng, Mr Qin Liming, Mr Liu Yazhi, Mr Ye Chucang, Mr Shao Lizhi, Mr Wang Jingwei, Mme Chen Bijun, Mr Jing Hengyi,

Mr Chen Gongbo, Mr Gu Mengyu, Mr Zeng Zhongming, Mr Gan Naiguang, Mr Zhang Jingjiang, Mr Dai Jitao, Mr Chen Guofu, Mr Ding Weifen, Mr Song Ziwen, Mr Chen Shuren, Mr Chu Minyi, Mr Peng Zemin, Mr Li Renchao, Mr Li Delin, Mr Chen Youren, Mr Zou Haibin, Mr Xu Jilong, Mr Zhu Jiqing, Mr Bai Yunti, Mr Enkebatu, Mr Li Fulin, Mr Chen Hufang, Mr Cheng Songyun, Mr Tang Mengxiao, Mr Zhu Yizhi, Mr Li Xiehe, Mr Bo Liewu, Mr Liu Zhenhuan, Mr Tang Yiru, Mr Zhang Zhiben, Mr Feng Ziyou, Mr Xie Huisheng, Mr Mao Zuquan, Mr Jiang Yuyan, Mr Kong Geng, Mr Guo Muoruo, Mr Shen Yanbing, Mr Chen Wangdao, Mr Li Heming, Mr Hu Shizhi, Mr Zhang Xingyan, Mr Zhou Zuoren, Mr Qian Jiepan, Mr Fu Sinian, Mr Luo Jialun, Mr Duan Xipeng, Mr Chen Baoc, Mr Zhang Dongsun, Mr Peng Yihu, Mr Peng Quanfang, Mr Yang Duanliu, Mr Hu Zijing, Mr Chen Suhuang, Mr Zhou Gucheng, Mr Shu Xincheng, and all old friends in the KMT, the government, and of the academic and other circles.

Faced with a formidable foe and the utmost urgent situation, I must be frank with you. Standing together with you through thick and thin, I am looking forward to your opinions of deep insight.

With best regards,

Mao Zedong
22 September 1936

FOOTNOTES

2. See Footnote 3 to the letter "To Song Qingling (18 September 1936)".

To Chiang Kai-shek (1 December 1936)

Dear Mr Kai-shek:

Since August last year, the CPC, the soviet, and the Red Army have repeatedly requested you to stop the civil war and join forces with us in the struggle against the Japanese aggressors. Our proposal has won the unanimous support of all circles and all factions throughout the country. However, clinging obstinately to your own course, you ordered your army to "encircle and wipe out" the Red Army and thus provoked the battle of Zhiluo town last winter.¹ This spring, when the Red Army was trying to cross the Huang He and marched eastward to the front in Hebei and Qahar, you once again order your troops to assault the army in the Fen He Valley. As we did not want to see our national defense forces worn down in meaningless fighting, we instructed our army to move westward and sought other ways to carry on our struggle against the Japanese aggressors. In the meantime, we also issued a manifesto to urge you to change your mind.

As the situation in eastern Suiyuan aggravated in the past few months, we expected that you would change your plan and order your troops to join the battle against the Japanese aggressors. However, you merely made a gesture by sending only eight regiments under Tang Enbo's command to reinforce the army in the Suiyuan front. In contrast to this, you amassed a total of 260 divisions, under the command of Hu Zongnan, Guan Linzheng, Mao Bingwen,

Wang Jun, He Zhuguo, Wang Yizhe, Dong Yingbin, Sun Zhen, Wan Yaohuang, Yang Huchen, Ma Hongkui, Ma Hongbin, Ma Bufang, Gao Guizi, Gao Shuangcheng, Li Xianzhou, and others, being determined to wipe out the anti-Japanese Red Army and the anti-Japanese Soviet area. Although we ordered the Red Army to stop attacking your troops and made concessions again and again, you refused to be reconciliated with us. In order to defend ourselves and safeguard the anti-Japanese troops and the anti-Japanese bases, we were forced to engage with your troops in the battle of Shancheng Fort, Dingbian, on 21 November.² While the people of all China share a bitter hatred of the Japanese aggressors and are giving full support to the fighters and commanders engaging in the struggle against the Japanese aggressors in Suiyuan, you instead concentrate your attention on the fratricidal civil war. We, who engage in the actual battle, are quite clear about how the soldiers and commanders of the Northwest Army feel about the civil war. In fact, they look forward to an end to the fratricidal civil war as eagerly as we do. The reason why the strong forces directly under your own control were defeated in the battle of Shancheng Fort was not because they were unskilled in battle but because they would rather submit themselves to the Red Army than to wage battle against Chinese compatriots. This is the common will of both the people and the army. Why do you not ponder deeply over the question? Now that the situation in Suiyuan is going from bad to worse and the number of troops defending the territory on the front is inadequate, the battle at the Great Wall³ and the 28 January incident in Shanghai⁴ can serve as our bitter lessons. Now the public is getting indignant with you. The fate of the nation depends on your decision. If you decide to stop the civil war, the Northwest Army "against the communists" under your control and the Red Army can immediately withdraw from the fratricidal civil war and join together to march to the front to resist the Japanese aggressors. Thus, the strength of our defending army in Suiyuan will increase by dozens of times. Therefore, as soon as you change your mind, we will be able to take revenge on the enemy, defend our motherland, and recover the lost territory. Then, you will certainly become a glorious national hero in the resistance to the Japanese aggressors and will leave a good name in history. Why do you still fail to make up your mind? Once again, we would like to sincerely appeal to you to make a prompt decision, give a favorable response to our demand for national salvation, be reconciliated with us, and join us in the struggle against the Japanese aggressors, since this would be in our interests and is the only way out for our whole nation. At present, there are two alternatives before you: resist, or surrender to the Japanese aggressors. If you continue to pursue the wrong way, our nation will be subjugated, our people will be cast aside by the whole nation and be reviled by our descendants. We really do not hope to hear our later generations denounce you, Chiang Kai-shek, as a traitor to China; but would like them to praise you as a national hero who redeems the nation and the people in good time? As the saying goes: One should not hesitate about correcting one's mistakes; a wrongdoer achieves salvation as soon as he gives up evil. We beg you to ponder deeply over the question. Faced with a formidable foe and the utmost urgent situation, we have just given you sincere advice and have expressed our earnest wishes. Being ready to fight against the enemy, we look forward to your instruction.

Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Zhang Guodao, Zhou Enlai, Wang Jiaqiang⁵, Peng Dehuai, He Long, Ren Bishi, Lin Biao, Liu Bochong, Ye Jianying, Zhang Yunyi, Xu Xiangqian, Chen Changhao, Xu Haidong, Dong Zhentang, Luo Binghui, Shao Shiping, Guo Hongtao, and all members of the Chinese People's Red Army.

1 December 1936

FOOTNOTES

1. In November 1935, the first front army of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army thoroughly wiped out the 109th and 106th Divisions of the Northeast Army in Zhiluo town, Fu County (Fu County today), Shaanxi Province, and thus defeated the third "offensive" launched by the KMT troops against the Shaanxi-Gansu revolutionary base. This battle was called the battle of Zhiluo town.
2. The battle of Shancheng Fort refers to the battle taking place at Shancheng Fort, Huan County, Gansu Province, in which the 1st Front Army and the 1st section of the 4th Front Army of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army, in coordination with the 2d Front Army, defeated the offensive launched by the KMT troops. In this battle, the Red Army eliminated a brigade or more under Hu Zongnan's command, and thus brought an end to the enemy's offensives against the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia soviet area.
3. The battle at the Great Wall refers to the one that was waged by the Chinese army against the Japanese invading troops around Xifengkou and Gubeikou on the Great Wall in March 1933. Since the Chiang Kai-shek clique insisted on its policy of compromise toward Japan, the Chinese defending troops were forced to withdraw from their positions on the Great Wall. The battle ended with the conclusion of the traitorous "Tanggu Agreement."
4. The 28 January incident is also called the battle of Songhu. The Japanese invading troops launched an offensive against Shanghai on 28 January 1932. The 19th Route Army stationed in Shanghai rose in self-defense and dealt the enemy hard blows in the battle lasting over 1 month. The battle was lost in the end due to the sabotage by the KMT Government.
5. Also spelled Wang Jiexiang.

To Feng Yuxiang¹

(5 December 1936)

Dear Mr Huanzhang:

Hearing your just call for resistance to the Japanese aggressors and national salvation in newspapers, from broadcasts, and from friends in Shanghai and Nanjing, I feel we have had talks, although we have never met before.

All parties and factions, regardless of their beliefs, will suffer from formidable national subjugation. Therefore, it is right and proper for them to make concerted efforts in the struggle for national salvation.

However, obstinately insisting on his wrong policy, Mr Chiang Kai-shek lacks the determination to resist the Japanese aggressors but has mobilized a total of 300 regiments to wage a war to "encircle and wipe out the communist troops." Recently, our army launched a small-scale defensive and routed an enemy brigade and completely eliminated another, both under the command of Hu Zongnan.² Although the morale of his troops is sinking lower every day; that man still refuses to change his mind.

At present, the matter of first priority is to stop the civil war. If you can loudly appeal for an end to the civil war, the Red Army and the Northwest Army engaging in the "offensive against the communists" will be able to march toward the battlefield in Suiyuan side by side as soon as the cease-fire takes effect. Otherwise, the humiliation which we have suffered from the battle at the Great Wall and the battle of Songhu³ will repeat--it will be too late to regret once we find our territory is shrinking every day! Although we are now separated from each other, we share the same opinion. I will be grateful if you can kindly give me your valuable advice. We have deliberated our program for resistance to the Japanese aggressors and national salvation in our letter to the Chinese KMT dated 25 August.⁴ A copy of the letter has been sent to you already. I hope you will not spare your comments.

Your old subordinate, Dong Zhentang⁵ and his colleagues have done really well. I believe you will be happy to learn this.

With best regards,

Mao Zedong

5 December

FOOTNOTES

1. Feng Yuxiang (1882-1948), alias Huanzhang, a native of Chao County, Anhui Province, and a patriotic general. After the 18 September incident in 1931, he appealed for resistance to the Japanese aggressors and opposed Chiang Kai-shek's policy of nonresistance. In 1933, in cooperation with the CPC, he organized the people's anti-Japanese allied army and became the chief commander of the army. In 1936, he was appointed vice chairman of the military commission of the KMT Government.
2. See also footnote 2 to the letter "To Chiang Kai-shek (1 December 1936)."
3. Refer to footnotes 3 and 4 to the letter "To Chiang Kai-shek (1 December 1936)."
4. Refer to footnote 3 to the letter "To Song Qingling (18 September 1936)."
5. Dong Zhentang (1895-1937), a native of Xinhe, Hebei Province. Originally a division commander under Feng Yuxiang, he was sent by Chiang Kai-shek to Jiangxi Province to launch the offensive against the Red Army in 1931. On 14 December of the same year, in Ningdu, Jiangxi Province, he led his troops to defect to the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army. He was appointed the commander of the 5th Army of the Red Army in 1936, and sacrificed his life in a battle against KMT troops in 1937.

To He Ganzhi¹

(17 January 1939)

Dear Comrade Ganzhi:

I am very happy to read your letter. There are not many comrades who are interested in and have the determination to study Chinese history. In Yanan,

we have Comrade Chen Boda² doing research in this field. It is fine that you are researching the history of the Chinese nation. I hope you will do it in a down-to-earth manner. On my part, my will has not been fulfilled. I had planned to collect materials on the China's war history, but I have not started the work yet. I do not have enough tools, and this year I will have to do some studies on auxiliary disciplines, namely, the study of philosophy, economics, and Leninism, with philosophy as the key. I would like to study modern history in the future, and I do hope you will render me more help.

I suppose your three attitudes toward the study on the history of the Chinese nation are correct, in particular, the second attitude. It will be helpful to the current war of resistance against Japan if you can prove in your book whether the line of national resistance or that of national capitulation is correct, and scathingly denounce [word indistinct] practiced national capitulationism during the Northern and Southern Dynasties, the Southern Song Dynasty, and the late period of the Ming Dynasty, and that of the Qing Dynasty, while praising those who took active part in national resistance.

Except for one thing, we should adopt an attitude of disapproval toward the aggressive policies of "annexing the weak and attacking the ignorant" and of "craving for greatness and success" (which really happened in China's history), so that they may not be confused with the policy of resistance. Attacking for the sake of resistance should not be listed within the scope of invasion, such as the cause of Ban Chao.³

I would like to have copies of both your books when they are published.

Wishing you great successes!

Mao Zedong

17 January

FOOTNOTES

1. He Ganzhi (1906-1969), a native of Taishan County, Guangdong Province, historian, then professor of the North Shaanxi Public College, and director on the Teaching and Research Section of Chinese Problems.
2. Chen Boda, born in 1904, a native of Huian County, Fujian Province, then working in the Propaganda Department under the CPC Central Committee.
3. Famous general of the Eastern Han Dynasty, who spent 31 years in the western expedition, compelling the Xion Nu to move west, dispelling the threat of the Xion Nu to the Han Dynasty.

To Fan Wenlan¹

(5 September 1940)

Dear Comrade Wenlan:

I am very happy to have read your outline². It will be very helpful if you could write out the whole text. This is because this is the first time in history for the study of Confucian Classics to be criticized with a Marxist view, and because at present the reaction and restoration of the old form of the big landlords and bourgeoisie are rampant. The first and foremost task of the current ideological struggle is to oppose such reaction. The continuance of your work on the study of history will have great effects on this struggle. I did not attend your third lecture because of illness. I wonder if you criticized the errors of Kang, Liang, Zhang, and Hu?³ Did you touch upon Liao Ping, Wu Yu, Ye Dehui, and so on?⁴ The more we criticize those people closer to our times, the more effect it will have on the academic circles.

I have not made any study on history, but if I could learn something from your study, it will be fortunate for me.

I salute you!

Mao Zedong

5 September.

FOOTNOTES

1. Fan Wenlan (1893-1969), a native of Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province, was an historian. He arrived in Yanan in January 1949. He was director of the Historical Research Center under the College of Marxism-Leninism and deputy principal of the Central Research Institute.
2. Refers to the outline of a speech by Fan Wenlan on the short history of the Chinese study of Confucian classics made at the Yanan new philosophy annual meeting in 1940. This outline was latter reorganized and published in Yanan's ZHONGGUO WENHUA [CULTURE OF CHINA] Vol II, No 3, entitled "Changes in the History of China's Study of Confucian Classics."
3. Kang Youwei (1858-1927), a native of Nanhai County, Guangdong Province, was a leading figure of the 1898 Reform Movement; Liang Qichao (1873-1929), a native of Xinhui County, Guangdong Province, was one of the leaders of the 1898 Reform Movement; Zhang Binglin (1869-1936), alias Zhang Taiyan, a native of Yuhang County, Zhejiang Province, was leader of the Guang Fu Hui. Hu Shi (1891-1962), a native of Jiqi County, Anhui Province, was a representative of the right wing in the 4 May New Culture Movement. All of them were scholars of great influence in modern China's history of the study in Confucian Classics and History of Ideology.

4. Liao Ping (1852-1932), a native of Jingyan County, Sichuan Province, was a scholar of Confucian classics of modern China; Wu Yu (1871-1949), a native of Xinfan County, Sichuan Province, wrote some articles to criticize the feudal ethical code before and after the May 4th movement, but rarely published any new writings after that; Ye Dehui (1864-1927), a native of Xiangtan County, Hunan Province; was a scholar in prose written in the classical literary style who supported the feudal reign.

To Xie Juezai¹

(22 August 1941)

Reverend Xie:

I have received your letter of 21 August. What I need is the plan drafted by the Departments of Finance and Construction upon the request of the Reverend Lin² and not any other plans. You are right to say that the plan will be more practical because we have gained experience this year. This year, we have gained unprecedented rich experience. One of the major experiences is that the problems are solved in public and private cooperation (in cooperation between 80,000 and 1.4 million people), which proves that the policies are correct and there is a way out. With regard to the mistakes and shortcomings that occurred in the implementation of policies (in the currency of the border region; in production, transportation, and marketing of salt; in grain; in tax revenue; and in public industry and commerce), they are due to lack of experience, which must be energetically corrected in the days to come. This year's policies are adopted, first of all, in light of the basic characteristics of revolution and war and then in light of other characteristics of the border region (such as vast territory, sparse population, poverty, backward economy and education, and so on). Everyone (including party members) can only regard what he has seen and experienced as the methodology or starting point for speaking, doing work, evolving ideas, and making plans. Therefore, it is extremely important to draw new experiences. You cannot dream about anything you have never heard or seen. With the experience gained this year, it will be much easier for the border region to do much of the work in the next year. This year's experience has educated 80,000 people and also educated 1.4 million people (the report of Fu County can prove this point), cadres, and leaders. It is the task of leaders to be good at summing up experience. There are various important tasks for the border region, such as political, military, economic, financial, and cultural work, eliminating traitors, and so on. Concerning the present state of affairs, namely, if no sudden change takes place, economic construction is still the central task of all other work. If we have enough to wear, eat, and use, everything will be enlivened and easy to do. Therefore, we must not mention taking democracy or any other work as the central task. I hope that these opinions of mine, which are not gone into seriously, will only serve as your reference. The material sent by Comrade Gao Gang³ merits attention. Please return it to him after reading. I have also read the narration of the Reverend Xu's life⁴ and have handed it over to the Organization Department. The Central Committee has decided to solve this matter generally as it does not only involve the Reverend Xu.

With best wishes,

Mao Zedong

22 August

Postscript: Please consider the application of Zhou Wen⁵ to the party league⁶ and submit the applications of the six persons to the central bureau. The party league is an organ that is responsible to and that implements the resolutions of the central bureau. Its task is to have a good grasp of the party's policies, sum up experience, and submit major issues to the central bureau for approval.

I said that there was partial [preceding word is underlined] forced labor in the transportation of salt by the masses under the supervision of the officers. In other words, it would mean what you said, that is, both the public and private can benefit from each other. However, we must realize the necessity of this partial forced labor. First of all, it is absolutely necessary to organize the masses in the transportation of salt during slack season [preceding two words are underlined]; and secondly, the 60,000 sacks of public salt are necessary for this year and the next year as well. It should be included in next year's budget. There is also partial forced labor in the mobilization of spring plowing and autumn harvest. However, the forced labor in the transportation of salt is much greater in that of spring plowing and autumn harvest and it is entirely different from gratuitous military and economic mobilization, such as transporting grain and building highways. Nevertheless, we must admit that the transportation of grain and the building of highways are also necessary. We only oppose mobilization that wastes money and manpower and does harm, not good.

FOOTNOTES

1. Xie Juezai (1884-1971), a native of Ningxiang County, Hunan Province, then deputy secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, party league secretary of the CPC Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region government, and secretary general of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region government.
2. Lin Boqu (1886-1960), a native of Linli County, Hanan Province, then chairman of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region government.
3. Gao Gang (1905-1954), a native of Hengshan County, Shaanxi Province, then secretary of the Northwest Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.
4. Xu Teli (1877-1968), a native of Changsha City, Hunan Province, then president of the Yanan College of Natural Sciences.
5. Zhou Wen (1907-1952), a native of Yingjing County, Sichuan Province, then head of the education department of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region government.
6. Refers to the party league of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region government. The party league was at that time the leading body of the party established by the CPC in the government, trade unions, peasant association, and other mass organizations. The term "party league" was changed to "party group" in the party constitution adopted at the Seventh CPC Congress.

To He Kaifeng¹

(15 September 1942)

Comrade Kaifeng:

I had a talk today with Bo Gu² for half a day. The newspaper office has achieved progress in its work and it is expected that the non-party newspaper can be turned into a party newspaper. According to Su Qun³ he delivered a report to more than 200 people and exerted a fine influence. The discussions of the newspaper office personnel for improving their work are under progress. Concerning the matter of various departments making use of newspapers in doing their work, I think it is necessary to carry out another discussion, so as to draw the attention of the comrades of the departments concerned of the Central Committee. The local authorities of various base areas still have not regarded newspapers as their important weapon. I think I must draft a telegram (or it may be necessary to use the name of the Secretariat) to set forth this task. After the rectification, the Central Committee must set up a large translation and editing department and merge with the translation and editing bureau of the Military Commission. With some 20 to 30 people working, we can translate large numbers of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin's works and Russian books. If possible, we can also translate some classical works of Britain, France, and Germany. As Liang Ping⁴ has rendered meritorious services in translation work, I think he is the right man to direct the translation and editing bureau. What is your opinion? Is he willing to take up the work? If we have the interest of the party in mind, I suppose it is better to do translation work than to do local work. It will be of boundless beneficence to learn to be Tang Sanzang.⁵ and Lu Xun⁶.

After Luo Mai⁷ leaves, you will be directly in charge of the central institute.⁸

The fourth page of JIEFANG⁹ is short of contributions and it is laying stress on literary and artistic articles. I have already invited more than 10 people to help solicit articles for Shu Qun, including Ai, Fan, Sun Xuewei¹⁰

(Fan Wenlan, then vice president of the Yanan Central Research Institute and concurrently head of the history research office. See also footnote 1 in the letter "To Fan Wenlan" (5 September 1940).

(Sun Xuewei, alias Liu Xuewei, a native of Langdai (now Liupanshui City), Guizhou Province, born in 1912, then special research fellow of the Yanan Research Institute), and the committees of workers, women, and youth. The youth committee has invited Feng Wenbin.¹¹ I do not know whether or not he can solicit youth movement contributions of 6,000 to 10,000 characters every month?

The unpleasant events will be forgotten as time passes.

With best wishes,

Mao Zedong

15 September

FOOTNOTES

1. He Kaifeng (1906-1955), a native of Pingxiang County, Jiangxi, then deputy head of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee.
2. Bo Gu, alias Qin Bangxian, then director of Yanan JIEFANG RIBAO. See also footnote 1 in the letter "To Qin Bangxian" (31 August 1944).
3. Sun Qun, a native of Harbin, Heilongjiang Province, born in 1913, then editor of the supplement of Yanan JIEFANG RIBAO.
4. Liang Ping, alias Wu Liang Ping, a native of Fenghua County, Zhejiang Province, born in 1908, then editor of Yanan JIEFANG weekly. He also translated Engels' "Anti-Duhring" and other works.
5. Tang Sanzang, alias Xuan Zang, was a Buddhist monk of the Tang Dynasty and a translator of Buddhist classics. He directed the translation of more than 70 classics and treatises of over 1,300 volumes.
6. Lu Xun (1881-1936), a native of Shaoxing County, Zhejiang Province, was a great writer, thinker, and revolutionary in China. He translated many foreign literary works and literary theoretical works, which were later edited into "Translated Works of Lu Xun" in 10 Volumes.
7. Luo Mai, alias Li Weiham, a native of Changsha, Hunan Province, was born in 1896. He was deputy head of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee from October 1940. He was transferred in September 1942 and assumed the office of secretary general of Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region government.
8. Central Institute refers to the Yanan Central Research Institute.
9. JIEFANG refers to Yanan JIEFANG RIBAO.
10. Ai Siqi (1910-1966), a native of Tengchong County, Yunnan Province, and a philosopher. He was then head of the Chinese cultural thought research office of the Yanan Central Research Institute.
11. Feng Wenbin, a native of Zhuji County, Zhejiang Province, born in 1910, then deputy secretary of the youth work committee of the CPC Central Committee.

To Peng Dehuai¹

(10 January 1944)

Comrade Dehuai,

I have already read the analysis you made on the 12 articles.² You have really given much thought to the matter. Such a research attitude is fine and the contents are generally correct. There are mistakes only in some places of the text.³ Mao Zedong wrote the following: "The party is the highest form of class integration. The trade unions, cooperatives, army, government (coalition governments with other classes), parliamentary party groups, and all other forms of class integration must accept party leadership. The CPC is founded

on this basis; however, its members still do not have a profound understanding," next to that portion of the text which read: "We must enable the party not to regard itself as an appendage of the electoral organ of the parliament...but must regard itself as the highest form of class integration of the proletariat." Mao Zedong wrote the following: "XIN QINGNIAN [NEW YOUTH] has disseminated communist thought, but it is still not a party newspaper," next to that portion of the text which read: "The newspaper XIN QINGNIAN, which was published in 1915, later played the role of party newspaper of the CPC and was the guiding publication of the youth movement." Mao Zedong inserted: "In addition to objective conditions," beside the portion of the text which reads: "At the later periods after the great revolution, Chen Duxiu took the opportunist line and abandoned Marxism, which led to the failure of the great revolution." Mao Zedong wrote: "The Nanchang, Autumn Harvest, and Guangzhou uprisings created the Red Army," next to the passage: "In 1927, Comrade Mao Zedong led the Autumn Harvest Uprising and laid the foundation for creating the Red Army." Mao Zedong also added: "The localities must get rid of the style of bureaucraticism, the army must get rid of the style of warlordism, and the whole party must get rid of the style of dogmatism," next to the passage that read: "It is necessary to earnestly carry out rectification work."

Mao Zedong

10 January

FOOTNOTES

1. Peng Dehuai (1898-1974), a native of Xiangtan County, Hunan Province, then acting secretary of the Northern Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and deputy chief commander of the 18th Group Army.
2. This refers to the speech delivered by Peng Dehuai at the rectification and study meeting of prefectural level cadres held by the party school of the Northern Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. The speech was entitled "On the 12 Articles Concerning Stalin's Theory on Bolshevization of the Party."
3. Mao Zedong gave his own opinion to some working in the text of Peng Dehuai's speech.

To Qin Bangxian¹

(31 August 1944)

Comrade Bo Gu,

I have made some changes in this article² and intended to publish it. Later, I felt the changes I made did not fit in well with the original article, so I decided to hold it. I have already asked the newspaper office to write and publish another editorial that does not involve many fundamental issues. Following are some of my opinions on the defects of the original article: The article has stressed the transformation of the family instead of linking it with the mass movement (this was also true of the editorial that was finally published³). The key of the matter precisely lies in linking the transformation of the family with the mass movement. Such mass movement includes the activities of local

organizations, which do not require participants to leave the family, such as participation in the work-exchange teams, cooperatives, self-defense corps, militia, rural councils, primary schools, literacy classes, Yangge folk dance troupes, and all kinds of mass rallies held on short notice; it also includes activities away from the family and even far from the rural areas, such as, joining the army (or there would be no revolutionary army), entering the factories (or we would not have an adequate labor force), going to school (or we would have no intellectuals), and going out to participate in other work. The central aim of the democratic revolution is to liberate the peasantry from the yoke of foreign invaders and landlords, and compradors, and establish a modern industrial society. "Consolidate the family" can be a revolutionary slogan only when it is linked with the above-mentioned revolutionary movements. The peasants' families are bound to be disrupted. When people join the army or go to work in factories, they have to "leave the family" and that itself causes a major disruption. As a matter of fact, we advocate the policy of both "leaving the family" and "consolidating the family." By advocating the slogan of leaving the family, we mean expanding the army, letting the soldiers rejoin their former units, recruiting workers, enrolling students (the number of the latter two activities will inevitably increase in the days to come), resettling people in other places, going out of the villages to participate in revolutionary work and looking for other jobs, and so on. The number of people involved in these activities will be a large one not only in the battlefields behind the enemy lines, but also after the war. The slogan consolidate the family applies only to people who stay in villages. During the civil war period, the people left behind in Xingguo County, to whom our slogan "consolidate the family" applied, were only a minority of the county's population. If any major change takes place in the general situation--say, if we take Beiping--then in the border areas where we are staying and where there have been few changes so far in the rural household population, many people will "leave their families." In fact, what we need is to constantly let people "go out of the family" and at the same time constantly "consolidate the family." Therefore, we cannot and should not categorically negate the slogan of the May 4th movement and categorically object people from leaving their families.

It would be impossible to transform the family without participating in social activities (such as fighting in wars, entering factories, struggling for reduction of land rents, organizing work-exchange teams, and so on). The transformation of Li Laicheng's family was precisely carried out in the thick of the social mass movement. The feudal family in the countryside can never be transformed into a democratic one by its own members acting in isolation on the basis of what they have learned from books and newspapers. Rather, this can be done only through mass movements.

Furthermore, factory production (social production, whether the enterprise is publicly or privately owned) and cooperative production (including production by work-exchange teams), rather than a scattered, individual economy, constitute the foundation of the new democratic society. The scattered, individual economy--household farming and household handicrafts--is the foundation of feudal society, rather than of the democratic society (including the old democratic, new democratic, and socialist societies). This is where Marxism differs from narodism. In short, production by machine instead of handwork serves as the

foundation of the new democratic society. We have not yet obtained machines, so we have not yet been victorious. If we never obtain machines, we will never win victory, and we will be ruined. The countryside is our temporary base area. It is not, nor can it ever be, the main foundation of the entire democratic society of China. It is precisely our revolutionary task to change the foundation from agriculture to industry.

Please pass this letter to Comrade Ai, Lu, and Yu⁴ for perusal and let me know if you have any comments.

With best regards,

Mao Zedong

31 August

Postscript: In revising the article, I added the liberation of individuality, which I think is inevitably included in the democratic revolution against feudalism. Some people say that we ignore or even suppress individuality, this is not correct. Unless individuality is freed from its fetters, there will be neither democracy nor socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. Qin Bangxian (1907-1946), alias Bo Gu, a native of Wuxi City, Jiangsu Province then director of Yanan JIEFANG RIBAO.
2. Refers to the draft of a JIEFANG RIBAO editorial entitled "Make the Family the Foundation of the New Democratic Society."
3. Refers to the editorial published in Yanan JIEFANG RIBAO on 25 August 1944 entitled "Develop the New Type Family in the Base Areas" which concerned the new-type family established by Li Laicheng, a peasant in Xiangyuan County, Shanxi.
4. Ai Siqi, then director of the department in charge of the features page of Yanan JIEFANG RIBAO, Lu Dingyi, then editor in chief of Yanan JIEFANG RIBAO. See also footnote 1 in the letter "To Lu Dingyi"; Yu Guangzheng (1906-1978), a native of Zhenghai County, Zhejiang Province, then deputy editor in chief of JIEFANG RIBAO.

To Chen Yi¹

(1 December 1944)

Dear Comrade Chen Yi:

Many thanks for your letter, which I have read, and by which I am much inspired.

I have sent a telegram to Chongqing today, telling them that there will be no answer to their letter, as both Zhou and Dong are back.² We shall discuss the next step after some time. There is no other way concerning the fundamental principle as you have said. You are absolutely correct in saying that the merits

of the white area must be acknowledged. And there is the question of "the north and south." I have long thought of saying something about the problem of party organizations in the south, but I forgot to mention it the other day; I am afraid there were other points I forgot, too. It seems necessary to mention the question during the Seventh National Congress. All that has been unfairly dealt with should be made fair, so that it may be advantageous to fighting the enemies in unity. Please do not hesitate to tell me if you have any suggestions.

Since you and Nie³ have already made known your status as members of the CPC, there is no need for Bocheng⁴ to keep his a secret. He did not attend the meeting at the party school yesterday, despite the fact that he was invited; this is because we have not formally informed him that his communist status can now be made public. Please inform him about this; surely I will inform him about it, too.

As to the assignment of cadres along the power Changjiang, please consult Peng Zhen⁵, I should think your suggestions are good.

Now that you have solved your ideological problems, you have nothing more to worry about, and there is no more obstruction before you; the path ahead of you is clear from now on. If we are ready to uphold truth at any time, and are ready to correct our mistakes, we will be able to achieve anything. So long as there are scores of backbone leaders in every base area and other places who have mastered this key matter, all problems can be solved easily. The whole party is now becoming more and more politically mature; this can be clearly seen if you read the telegrams from various places.

I salute you!

Mao Zedong

1 December

FOOTNOTES

1. Chen Yi (1901-1972), a native of Lezhi County, Sichuan Province, then acting commander of the New 4th Army. In order to participate in the seven CPC National Congress to be held soon, he and Nie Rongzhen and Liu Bocheng returned to Yanan from the forefront of the war of resistance against Japan.
2. Zhou refers to Zhou Enlai. Dong refers to Dong Biwu (1888-1975), a native of Hongan County, Hubei Province, then a member of the Southern Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, helping Zhou Enlai, secretary of the Southern Bureau in Chongqing, to take charge of the affairs of the CPC in areas under the reign of the KMT.
3. Nie Rongzhen, born in 1899, a native of Jiangjing County, Sichuan Province, then commander and concurrently political commissar of the Shanxi-Chahaer-Hebei military region.
4. Liu Bocheng, born in 1892, a native of Kai Xian, Sichuan Province, then commander of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Military Region, and the commander of the 129th Division of the Eighth Route Army.

5. Peng Zhen, born in 1902, a native of Quwo County, then acting director of the organization department under the CPC Central Committee at that time.

To Liu Shaoqi (6 March 1948)

Dear Comrade Shaoqi:

1) I have long received your telegram of 28 February¹. All the points you have raised are good, and have already been included in the instruction of the CPC Central Committee on work in old and semi-old liberated areas. The point on the relationship between policy and experience should be correctly understood as whether the policy is correct or not, and to what extent it is correct should be tested by future experiences; any experience (practice) is derived from the process of the implementation of a correct policy. Therefore, in doing anything whenever the masses are involved, policies should have clear demarcation lines. I feel that in the many mistakes committed by various localities, the major cause (troublemaking on the part of bad people is not the major cause) is that the policies stipulated by leading organs are not explicit enough, and they have failed to draw a demarcation line between what could be done and what should not be done. The reason they have failed to draw a clear-cut demarcation line is because the leaders themselves are lacking ample experiences in what they are doing (they themselves do not have ample experiences in implementing certain policy), or are not attaching enough importance to others' experiences, or because of some avoidable negligence which has resulted in their failure to make a demarcation line in policy. Another reason is that though the leaders knew that it was necessary to draw a demarcation line in policy, they only gave some simple explanations, and no systematic explanations. According to experiences, in any policy, if simple explanations are given, and no systematic explanations are given, it will fail to mobilize the party members and the masses to engage in correct practice. Concerning the two conditions mentioned above, various bureaus of the CPC Central Committee and the CPC Central Committee itself should share the responsibility. We have failed not only to openly (this is very important, which means to publish in the newspaper, enabling the people to have a clear idea of things) and explicitly draw a demarcation line but also to make systematic explanations on many items of our work in the past. We should not put all the blame on the various bureaus of the CPC Central Committee, and I myself profoundly understand such responsibility. Over the past 3 months or more, we have exerted our efforts to study various policies, and to make explanations on them, so as to overcome our shortcomings. Nevertheless, various bureaus of the CPC Central Committee also should bear their responsibilities. Still another reason is that the policies themselves are wrong. Regarding this point, many party organizations at lower levels have decided, without authorization, their own policies, which they had thought correct but were actually erroneous. They have failed to seek instructions from the CPC Central Committee, and even from the bureaus of the CPC Central Committee. Take, for example, the occurrence of arbitrary beatings and killings in many places. Nevertheless, there are quite a few cases of committing mistakes in policies in various bureaus of the CPC Central Committee. For example, the Shanxi-Suiyuan sub-bureau has committed mistakes in infringing on the rights of the middle peasants in the work of determining class status, in extorting ruinous industrial and commercial taxes, and in discarding the enlightened gentry. However, cases of committing such "leftist" errors in various regions of north

China, east China, and central China seem to be more serious than is the case with Shanxi-Suiyuan (particularly since the surrender of Japan, and such cases also took place prior to this). The seriousness of such cases in Shanxi-Suiyuan ranks only second. Please examine whether this is the situation. For still another reason, there are mistakes in the method of leadership, namely, there have been not enough ties between the upper and lower levels, and there has been a failure to promptly understand the conduct of the campaign, and as a result, mistakes at a lower level have not been promptly corrected. Please formally make known the above-mentioned points to the comrades attending the meeting of the working commission under the CPC Central Committee and discuss them. 2) Having drawn up the draft for determining class status², I feel that what has been written in the draft of the January decision is not enough.³ Therefore, another decision is being written on the basis of the main paragraph of the January decision, and we are ready to openly publish it as soon as possible. The first and last paragraphs of the January decision will be published in the form of an editorial. As the CPC Central Committee has already issued the main points for land reform in the new liberated areas, there is no need to publish my telegram to Su Yu.⁴ Therefore, it has been decided not to send it, and we think it more advantageous to publish certain parts of the telegram in the form of an editorial. 3) Su Yu's troops will have to complete their concentration in Yanggu by 15 March; and it seems that you, Rao, Chen, Kang, and Deng may head for Yanggu on around 20 March.⁵ You will have ample time to discuss all problems concerning policy (centering around the book on determining class status), problems on the organization of the North China Bureau, and other problems.

Mao Zedong

6 March

FOOTNOTES

1. Refers to Liu Shaoqi's telegram to Mao Zedong on 28 February 1948, in which he expressed his hope to be able to get some documents of the CPC Central Committee on the land reform soon, saying: "Without these documents, it will be impossible to avoid zigzags in ordinary circumstances. Though having these documents, we are still bound to make some mistakes. Within the party, it is mainly necessary to rely on the personal experiences of cadres who are party members to take the correct path. The possession of correct documents will avoid taking many zigzags." In this telegram, he also made concrete suggestions on the land reform in old liberated areas.
2. Refers to the draft of the "Stipulations of the CPC Central Committee on the Determination and Treatment of Various Social Classes in the Land Reform." The draft was issued to CPC leading organs at higher levels for discussion on 16 February 1948, and it was stipulated that it should not be made known to lower levels.
3. Refers to the draft of the "January Decision of the CPC Central Committee" adopted in principle by the CPC Central Committee on 18 January 1948. See "On Some Important Problems of the Party's Present Policy" in the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, for the essence of this draft.

4. Refers to the telegram of January 1948 which Mao Zedong had intended to send to Su Yu, deputy commander of the East China Field Army, on land reform in the new liberated areas.
5. Rao Shushi (1903-1975), a native of Lingchuan County, Jiangxi Province, then secretary of the East China Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and political commissar of the East China Military Region; Chen Yi, then first deputy secretary of the East China Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and commander of the East China Military Region; Kang Sheng (1898-1975), a native of Jiaonan County, Shandong Province, then second deputy secretary of the East China Bureau of the CPC Central Committee; Deng Zihui (1896-1972), a native of Lungyan County, Fujian Province, then deputy secretary of the East China Military Region.

To Liu Shaoqi (26 October 1948)

Dear Comrade Shaoqi:

That article¹ has been well revised. On page 29, the original text which reads "We should by no means adopt measures to restrict private capitalist economy too early," is now changed to "we should by no means adopt measures to restrict private capitalist economy, which is at present still helpful to the national economy and the people's livelihood." This is because, speaking as a whole, our economic policy is to restrict private capital, and only those sections of private capital which are helpful to the national economy and the people's livelihood are not to be restricted, while "being helpful to the national economy and the people's livelihood" is itself an extremely great restriction, namely, it will guide private capital onto the track of the "national economy and people's livelihood." In order to achieve this, it is essential to wage struggle against the part of private capital which constantly deviates or attempts to deviate from this track. Though these sections of private capital are brought onto this track, they are always wanting to break away from it, therefore the struggle of restriction will be constant and continuous.

Mao Zedong

26 October

FOOTNOTES

1. Refers to the article written on 15 September 1948 by Zhang Wentian on "Program on the economic structure and fundamental principle of economic construction of the northeast" revised by the CPC Central Committee.

To Huang Yanpei¹

(17 February 1951)

Dear Revered Mr Huang Ranzhi:

I have just sent you a piece of information on Guangdong's correcting the tendency of unlimited leniency in the implementation of policy; here I am sending you another piece of information on Guangxi for your reference. These two places are the most typical examples. Though other places have not gone

to extremes, their situations are largely the same, causing universal resentment among the masses. If we spare the lives of the ringleaders and hardened bandits, we will fail to eliminate the bandits, while the more we send our armed forces to suppress them, the more bandits there will be. If we spare the lives of the despots, the peasants' associations will fail to be organized, and the peasants will not dare redistribute the land. If we spare the lives of important [preceding word underlined] special agents, sabotage and assassination will take place in endless succession. In short, it is imperative to adopt a policy of resolutely suppressing ringleaders of bandits, despots, and special agents (important ones); only then, will the people stand on their own feet, and the people's political power be consolidated. Of course, concerning the part of criminals not necessarily punished with death, we should give them sentences of imprisonment, or hand them to the masses for the latter to keep watch on their movement, and remold them through labor; their lives can be spared. As there should be a limit to leniency, so should there be a limit to suppression. It is not right to carry things on without a limit. In places where problems are solved and the masses are satisfied, there should be no more killing.

My best regards to you,

Mao Zedong

17 February

FOOTNOTES

1. Huang Yanpei (1878-1965), alias Renzhi, a native of Chuansha County, Shanghai, then vice premier of the State Council, concurrently minister of light industry, and he was in charge of the Chinwi Democratic National Construction Association.

To Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, and Others (19 February 1956)

To Liu, Zhou, Chen, Peng Zhen, Xiaoping, Chen Boda, and Dingyi:¹

In my opinion, such free discussions² should not be banned because, after all, it involves differing opinions concerning academic ideas, about which everyone can have his say without diminishing anyone else's authority. Therefore, we should not mention this matter to Yudin.³ Differences of opinion in China concerning such academic issues or any of the leaders should not be prohibited. Any attempt to ban them would be entirely wrong.

Mao Zedong

19 February

FOOTNOTES

1. Chen Yun, then a member of both the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee; Peng Zhen, then a member of the Political Bureau and first secretary of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee; Deng Xiaoping, then a member of the Political Bureau and secretary general of the Central Committee; Chen Boda, then director of the Political Research Center under the party Central Committee; Lu Dingyi, then director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee.

2. Refers to the remarks of a Soviet scholar, then lecturing in China, who had told his Chinese escorts how his opinion of Dr Sun Yat-sen's world outlook differed from Mao Zedong's, as expressed in the latter's essay "On New Democracy."

3. Pavel Fedorovich Yudin, then Soviet ambassador to China.

To Huang Yanpei¹

(4 December 1956)

Dear Mr Renzhi:

I have received your letter.

Congratulations on your successful meetings!²

It is very good news that the method of criticism and self-criticism has worked well in your association, among industrialists and businessmen all over the country, and among senior intellectuals, and that it is being improved. Human society is always fraught with contradictions. This is also true of socialist and communist societies, only that the contradictions are of a different nature from those in a class society. Since contradictions exist, they should be exposed and resolved. There are two ways of exposing and resolving them. One is used for contradictions between the enemy (special agents and saboteurs) and ourselves, and the other for contradictions within the ranks of the people (including inner-party and inter-party contradictions). The former is the method of suppression and the latter the method of persuasion, namely, the method of criticism. In our country, class contradictions basically have been resolved. (That is to say, they have yet to be completely resolved, and ideological contradictions will continue to exist for a long time to come. Moreover, also for a long time to come, there will continue to be a small number of special agents.) Thus, all the people should close ranks. On the other hand, problems among the people will continue to crop up one after another. The only way to solve them is to start from the desire for unity and arrive at unity through criticism and self-criticism. I was glad to learn that this was the way the China Democratic National Construction Association conducted its meetings. I hope the same method will be adopted wherever problems exist.

There is no lack of knotty international problems, but they can always be solved one way or another. I am an optimist, and I believe you are one too.

With fraternal greetings,

Mao Zedong

4 December 1956

I wrote a poem last year and another this year.³ I'm sending copies herewith--you may wish to look them over and correct them--hoping in this way to repay your kindness in sending me your poems.

FOOTNOTES

1. Huang Yanpei (1878-1965), alias Huang Renzhi, then vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and chairman of the China Democratic National Construction Association.
2. The enlarged session of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association held in October 1956, and the Second Plenary Session of the First Central Committee of the association held in November of the same year.
3. Here, "last year" should read "the year before last," namely, 1954, when Mao Zedong wrote the poem "Beidaihe"--to the tune of "Lang Tao Sha." The poem he wrote "this year," that is in 1956, was "The Changjiang"--to the tune of "Shui Diao Ge Tou," which was published under the title "Swimming"--to the tune of "Shui Diao Ge Tou."

To Hu Qiaomu¹

(30 April 1957)

Dear Comrade Qiaomu:

The article is useful². Please reprint it in RENMIN RIBAO. The article of Nanjing and the one of Shanghai have not been reprinted yet; please send them to me, so that comments will be written on them.

Mao Zedong

30 April

FOOTNOTES

1. Hua Qiaomu, born in 1912, a native of Yancheng County, Jiangsu Province, then alternate secretary of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee.
2. Refers to "On Letters a Hundred Flowers Blossom, Letting a Hundred Schools of Thought, Contend From the View of Heredity" published by Professor Li Ruqi of Beijing University in GUANGMING RIBAO on 29 April 1957. Having read it, Mao Zedong suggested RENMIN RIBAO reprint this article, changing the title into "The Inevitable Road for the Development of Science," and personally wrote an editor's note for it, which reads: "This article was carried in GUANGMING RIBAO on 29 April, we have changed the original title to the subtitle, and given it a new title which is affirmative to show that we are for this article. We welcome the attitude of making thorough criticism of mistakes (all really wrong ideas and measures should be thoroughly criticized), while making appropriate, constructive suggestions." On 1 May, RENMIN RIBAO carried this article.

To Zhou Shizhao¹

(25 October 1958)

Dear Dunyuan:

I am very happy on reading your letter of 17 October. I hope you will not prefer the light to the heavy, but will pick the hard jobs and shirk the easy ones. There is an ancient saying which goes: A man of virtue is knighted, while a talented person is assigned to a post; neither can get the knighthood and the post concurrently. But I think you can. Every year, every month, and every day, one constantly feels that his job is beyond him. This is actually because he does not quite understand himself and, at the same time, does not understand objective things--those students returned from abroad, great professors, personnel disputes, complex mentality, slighting you without saying it openly, but showing it in their eyes, and so on [sentence as published]. It seems that everyone has to experience these phenomena of the ways of the world. Besides, you lack experience in governmental work, and now that you have to go in for it, you are feeling a little scared. Nevertheless, you have explained yourself before taking up the post, and that is fine. All this is true and understandable. I hold that wisdom and honesty will be enough to solve all difficult problems. I seem to remember having talked about it with you. By wisdom, means to raise more questions and think more, and by honesty, means seeking truth from facts. If we persist in doing so, making it a habit, we always will be able to do our work comparatively better. Your courage seems to be greater now than it was before. When we see a scholar again after a separation of some time, we should treat him with increase respect. I have again gone too much at length on this; actually, I am just elaborating a little. One sits on the ground and travels 80,000 li a day. Jiang Zhuru² made a blunder talking about it, but there is scientific data. The diameter of the globe is about 12,500 km; by using π --3.1416--we get a circumference of around 40,000 km, namely 80,000 li. This is the distance covered in the rotation of the globe. When one takes a train, a boat, or an automobile, he must pay a price for it--this is traveling; but when one sits on the earth, he does not have to pay anything (namely, he does not have to buy a ticket), yet he travels 80,000 li a day. If you ask people whether this is traveling, their answer is no, because they have not moved a bit. What nonsense! They are constrained by habit, and have not done away with superstitions. People consider it strange when they come across a phenomenon which is just a daily occurrence. Circling the skies, our solar system (including the Earth) travels in the Milky Way every day and every minute. The Milky Way is just one of the many systems, and it is infinite. When we say "a thousand," we simply mean numerous in rhetoric. We, mankind, "travel" in only one of those systems, but we can "see" many of them. The cowherd in the sky [of Chinese legend] was originally a native of Shanxi. Schistosomiasis, and a disease caused by a legendary venomous insect, or popularity called a disease characterized by a swelling stomach, was often recorded in books and histories of the Zhou, Qin, and Han dynasties. The cowherd was naturally concerned over his fellow villagers, and asked about how things were with the God of Plague. Urse Major, popularly known as the cowherd

constellation (have I made a mistake?) belongs to the Milky Way system³. Please let Zhuru know about these explanations. If opinions differ, we can have a debate. I may not be in Beijing in November; it is all the same if we do not see each other!

Mao Zedong

25 October 1958

FOOTNOTES

1. Zhou Shizhao (1897-1976), alias Zhou Dunyuan, a native of Ningxiang County, Hunan Province. He was Mao Zedong's classmate when studying at the Hunan First Provincial Normal School, and a member of the Sinming Society. He had for long engaged in educational work. Since July 1958, he had been vice governor of Hunan Province.
2. Mao Zedong's classmate at the Hunan Provincial First Normal School.
3. The cowherd star is not in Ursa Major, but is Alpha of Aquila. Both Ursa Major and the cowherd star belong to the Milky Way system.

To Zhang Shizhao¹

(7 June 1959)

Dear Mr Xingyan:

I have received all the books and have read them. Many thanks!

You have been working diligently in order to seek truth from facts. Having read G 1's work² I feel all the more impressed. As old as you are, you are bent on changing your views; such sentiment should be congratulated on. As there are many places deleted or supplemented compared with the original text, it would be wise to make some explanations. Here I make some suggestions with the help of your work:

The book "Luoqi Zhiyao" ["A Guide to Logic"]³ is an old writing of mine done sometime this century. In 1959, the Political Research Center under the party Central Committee is editing a book series of logic, and my book is wanted in their list. So I have spent a month on proofreading it once. Nevertheless, as I do not have the manuscript with me, it has been quite difficult for me to do so. About one-twentieth of the original text is deleted, while a larger portion is supplemented to it, which is limited to citing examples from ancient books so as to make it a bit more interesting to the readers. In recent years, the subject of logic has aroused great interest in academic circles, and vigorous discussions have been created concerning the scope of logic and its relationship with materialistic dialectism. It is not that I am not interested in the discussions though I have not taken a direct part in them. I dare not

say that the reprinting of my old work will be helpful to the discussions of various schools of thought, but it is my heartfelt wish that it will become some kind of reference, or arouse the criticism of the readers, so as to safeguard the correct views or to point out the mistakes, leading to a clearer understanding of truth!

Zhang Shizhao

June 1959

I think this will be of great advantage. What do you think? If you do not like it, you can look upon my suggestion as canceled.

I am sorry I did not answer your last letter because I have had a cold for a whole month. I am really happy to have received yours of the sixth; here I am writing an answer to you lying in bed.

My best personal regards to you,

Mao Zedong

0800, 7 June 1959

FOOTNOTES

1. Zhang Shizhao (1881-1973), alias Zhang Xingyan, a native of Changsha, Hunan Province. He was general director of the judicial minister and concurrently general director of the educational minister during the administration of Duan Qirui. During the peace negotiation between the KMT and the CPC in 1949, he was a member of the delegation of the KMT Government. He remained in Beijing because the KMT Government refused to sign the peace negotiation. After the founding of the PRC, he was a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, member of the Standing Committee of the CPPCC, and principal of the Central Research Institute of Historical Documents.
2. This may refer to an article written by Jin Yuelin, entitled "Self-Criticism on 'Logic'--an old writing of mine," published in ZEXUE YANJIU [STUDIES IN PHILOSOPHY] No 5, 1959. Jin's "Logic" has been collected in LUO QI CONGSHU [BOOK SERIES OF LOGIC], published in 1963 by Sanlian Bookstore. The book includes this article of self-criticism.
3. "Luoqi Zhiyao" was an old book written by Zhang Shizhao back in 1917. It was first published in Chongqing in 1943. After the founding of the PRC, it was revised and republished by the Sanlian Bookstore in 1961. In a preface to the second edition written by Zhang Shizhao in May 1959, which was later dropped, he talked about the cause of the publication of the second edition of the book. He said: 'It happened one day after the liberation of Beijing.' Chairman Mao met me and asked: 'I have heard that you have written a book on logic. May I read it?' I hesitated and answered: 'That book was printed in Chongqing. It has said something against the CPC. If I should present the book to you, I would be offending you. So how could I?' The Chairman laughed and said: 'It is an academic matter; what harm will it do?' Later when Mao Zedong had finished reading the book, he said to Zhang Shizhao: "To my mind, the book is good for reference today and is suitable for publication."

To Zhang Pinghua¹

(14 May 1961)

Dear Comrade Zhang Pinghua:

Your letter² can be issued to CPC committees of various prefectures, cities, counties, and communes throughout Hunan Province for their study, and their reference in handling similar problems. We should all resolutely adopt the mass line. We should consult the masses when we come across a problem, then make a decision together with them, and implement it as a policy. It is not permitted for party committees at various levels to dispense with work in investigation and study. We absolutely forbid a small number of people of any party committee to draw up harmful, subjective so-called policy without making investigation, without consulting the masses, and shutting themselves in their rooms.

Mao Zedong

14 May 1961, in Tianjin

FOOTNOTES

1. Zhang Pinghua, born in 1907, a native of Ling Xian, Hunan Province, then first secretary of Hunan Provincial CPC Committee.
2. Refers to the letter of Zhang Pinghua to Mao Zedong written on 13 May 1961, which reported the investigation he made on a production brigade, and his discussion with the masses on solving problems of distribution according to labor and on management and operation.

To Lu Dingyi¹

(27 September 1964)

Dear Comrade Dingyi:

Please read this article.² This letter is well written, and the problem should be solved. Nevertheless, we should adopt the method of seeking opinions from the masses, holding discussions among the teachers and students, and collecting their opinions.

Mao Zedong

27 September

Postscript: Make things ancient serve the present, make things foreign serve China. This letter gives expression to the opinion of one section of people; it is possible that many people are against it.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lu Dingyi, born in 1901, a native of Wuxi, Jiangsu Province, then secretary of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, concurrently director of the Propaganda Department under the CPC Central Committee.
2. Refers to a letter written to Mao Zedong from a student of the Central Conservatory of Music on 1 September 1964. This letter made some suggestions on making music revolutionized, nationalized and popularized, and so on.

To Bo Yibo¹

(14 December 1964)

Dear Comrade Yibo:

Your opinion is quite right². Concerning natural resources as well as routes, we should spend 2 or 3 years on serious investigation to acquire sound data before we make comparison and a final decision. We should not go through it prefactorily, nor should we be dilatory in our work, and failing to be serious and active in our investigation.

Mao Zedong

14 December

FOOTNOTES

1. Bo Yibo, born in 1908, a native of Ding Xiang County, Shanxi Province, then vice premier of the State Council and director of the State Economic Commission.
2. Refers to Bo Yibo's suggestion on selecting an appropriate route for the Sichuan-Hankou railway. He proposed that it is essential to carry out an on-the-spot survey of the three proposed lines of the Sichuan-Hankou railway. We should not fix a line subjectively beforehand as was usually done in the past when selecting a railway route--we actually did it on the chart.

To Lu Dingyi and Others¹

(18 July 1965)

Dear Comrades Dingyi, Kangsheng, Enlai, Shaoqi, Xiaoping, and Peng Zhen².

Such condition should be changed. The drawing of nudes of both sexes and of all ages from models² is a basic skill required by painting and sculpture, which cannot be dispensed with. It is not proper to forbid it in line with feudal

ideology. It does not matter even if something evil takes place. In the name of art, we can afford to make a little sacrifice. Please consider it and make a final decision.

Mao Zedong

18 July 1965

FOOTNOTES

1. Lu Dingyi was then secretary of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee and director of the Propaganda Department under the CPC Central Committee.
2. Kangsheng was then secretary of the Secretariat under the CPC Central Committee; Enlai is Zhou Enlai; Shaoqi is Liu Shaoqi; Xiaoping is Deng Xiaoping, then general secretary of the CPC Central Committee; and Peng Zhen, then secretary of the Secretariat under the CPC Central Committee.

CSO: 4005/343

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO ON PHILOSOPHY IN MAO'S RURAL SURVEYS

HK141536 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Dec 83 p 5

[Article by Gong Yuzhi [7895 5148 0037]: "Philosophical Implications of the 'Collection of Mao Zedong's Writings on Rural Surveys'"]

[Text] On Mao Zedong's birth anniversary last year, the "Collection of Mao Zedong's Writings on Rural Surveys" was published. On the same date this year, the "Collection of Mao Zedong's Letters" and "Collection of Mao Zedong's Writings on the Work of the Press" were published. These are three books in a series of collections of Mao Zedong's works that are planned to be published one by one. They are an important part of Mao Zedong's works.

These three special collections cannot be regarded as being precisely philosophical works, but in view of studying and researching Mao Zedong's philosophical thought, they are all of great significance.

Understanding a person's thought and life through studying a collection of his letters can achieve unique results which are better than those that we can achieve through studying his other works. This is also true in understanding Mao Zedong as a revolutionary and a philosopher. In order to study and research Mao Zedong's philosophical thought, of course, we must mainly study his specific works on philosophy and his other works on science. However, from quite a few of his letters, we can trace the path followed by Mao Zedong in studying philosophy from his youth through the periods when he was in Jiangxi, Yanan, and Beijing. In addition, we can have a peep at the scenes of his life of reading and research, understand his spirit in pursuing knowledge and his attitude in doing scholarly research, and learn something about how he discussed philosophy and explored the sphere of philosophy together with his friends. Some of his letters specifically discuss philosophy, others give a few philosophical viewpoints in connection with other questions, and still others talk about some of his opinions on the work related to philosophy. Though there are no systematical expositions in these letters, in most of these letters he frankly expresses his simple views in a few words. Undoubtedly, these letters provide us with rich supplementary materials for understanding and researching Mao Zedong Philosophical Thought.

The collection of his works on press work reflects Mao Zedong's theory and practice in doing press work. One of the important characteristics of Mao Zedong Philosophical Thought is concretely turning the basic principles of Marxist philosophy into the principles and methods to be actually applied

in the various aspects of work (including the work of the press) of the Chinese communists and revolutionaries. The collection of works on the work of the press embodies this characteristic in its own area.

The collection of the writings on rural surveys was edited on the basis of "Rural Surveys," a book edited under Mao Zedong's personal direction in Yanan, with the addition of some supplementary materials. When the book "Rural Surveys" was printed in Yanan, Mao Zedong was writing his speech entitled "Reform Our Study." In the preface to this book, Mao Zedong time and again stresses: The publication of this book is aimed at "helping comrades to find a method to study problems." This means that the book was published as a book for learning the thinking and working methods of seeking truth from facts and making investigation and study. The recently revised and enlarged edition of this book includes three more important articles on investigation and study, in addition to adding two important documents of survey materials to the book. The three articles are: "Oppose Bookworship," an important article which was lost for a long time and was found in the 1950's and which was not included in the Yanan edition of the book; the recently found article entitled "Circular of the General Political Department on a Survey of the State of Affairs Concerning Population and Land"; and the speech entitled "On Rural Surveys" which he gave in Yanan. As a result, the philosophical color of this book of materials has been further strengthened.

The most important of the three specific collections in studying and researching Mao Zedong's philosophical thought is the "Collection of Mao Zedong's Writings on Rural Surveys."

An Article Denouncing the Practice of Turning Marxism Into Dogma

Mao Zedong was not the first in China to become a Marxist. However, after he accepted Marxism, he followed and represented the orientation of integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and thus enabled the CPC to creatively solve the theoretical and practical problems of Chinese revolution and to lead the Chinese revolution in achieving its victory. In this way, Mao Zedong became China's most important Marxist revolutionary and theoretician. The thought resulting from this scientific integration is called Mao Zedong Thought by the CPC and the Chinese people.

Mao Zedong Thought took shape and gradually developed in the late 1920's and the early 1930's in the process of the struggle against the erroneous tendency prevailing in our party at that time, the tendency which regarded Marxism as dogma and the resolution of the Communist International and the experiences of the Soviet Union as sacred, and in the process of deeply summing up our historical experience in this area. The "Collection of Mao Zedong's Writings on Rural Surveys" is precisely a collection of works written at that time. This collection, especially the article "Oppose Bookworship," which is an article denouncing the practice of regarding Marxism as dogma, must be regarded as an important book that marks the beginning of the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought and its constituent part--Mao Zedong Philosophical Thought.

"Oppose Bookworship" was written in May 1930 and its original title was "Work of Surveys." Later, in 1961, Mao Zedong said: "This was an old article written for the purpose of opposing the dogmatist thought in the Red Army at that time. As there was no such term as 'dogmatism,' we called it 'bookworship.'" He recalled the process of writing the article and said: "First, I wrote a short article entitled 'Oppose Bookworship' in Xunwu, Jiangxi. Later, I found that the article was too short to convince my comrades and once more wrote this long article with the same content but with more detailed exposition." Because of this and because the subheading of the third part of this article was originally "Oppose Bookworship," which this article was published in the "Selected Readings of Mao Zedong's Works (Version A)," Mao Zedong changed the title from the original title of "Work of Surveys" to "Oppose Bookworship."

The investigation materials in the "Collection of Mao Zedong's Writings on Rural Surveys" recorded Mao Zedong's practice in doing the work of surveys while the three articles, including "Oppose Bookworship" and the "Preface and Postscript of 'Rural Surveys,'" sum up the experience of this practice and expound on the significance of this practice in a philosophical point of view. One of the extremely important reasons why Mao Zedong could become a representative of the correct orientation of integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution is that he attached great importance to making a survey of the actual conditions in China, particularly in its rural areas, and grasped investigation and study which is the key link in integrating the above-mentioned two aspects. As far back as in March 1920 in his letter to Zhou Shizao, he developed the following idea: As a Chinese, one has to make on-the-spot investigation and study of the state of affairs inside China. In his speech entitled "On Rural Surveys," Mao Zedong recalled the path he had followed in making rural surveys. He said that after he read the translated version of books such as the "Communist Manifesto," he began to know that class struggle was the primary motive force for social development and "initially acquired the methodology for understanding problems." However, those books said nothing about the state of affairs in China. What he was only able to do was, using this methodology, to "soundly begin to make a study of the actual class struggle." When he was recuperating at home in Hunan, he made a rural survey. When he was in charge of the Peasant Movement Lecture and Training Center in Guangzhou, he organized his pupils to make rural surveys. When the CPC Central Committee assigned him to be in charge of the peasant movement, he went to inspect Changsha, Xiangtan, Xiangxiang, Hengshan, and Liling counties and made rural surveys there. When he was establishing the rural revolutionary base on the Jinggang Shan and developing the agrarian revolution, he attached even greater importance to rural surveys. Even when he led the No 4 Army of the Red Army, he did his best to use any spare time between the battles to personally make, and required all the Red Army cadres to make, rural surveys. He said: "It has been 6 or 7 years since I began to personally make rural surveys." He time and again talked with deep feelings about what instruction the surveys gave him in understanding the actual state of affairs in China's rural areas. He time and again expressed his regret that the materials of the surveys in the five counties in Hunan and the two counties in the Jinggang Shan area were lost amid the turmoil of the war and said, "I often

miss these materials and will never forget them." Of the rural surveys made by him in the 1920's, only the "instances of the Life of Chinese Tenant-Peasants" was placed in the collection (only in the recent revised and enlarged edition) and the other materials seemed to be lost forever. What we feel is heartening is that the "Xunwu Survey" (the survey of the largest scale that was ever made by Mao Zedong), a survey report of 80,000 characters that was well organized and consummately narrated, has been recovered after being lost in the past. This report is included in the revised and enlarged edition and has thus greatly enriched the content of this collection. This survey was made in May 1930 when the article "Oppose Bookworship" was written.

"One has no say if one has not made any investigation." This well-known slogan, which has aroused serious debate and had a tremendously great impact inside our party, was put forth for the first time in "Oppose Bookworship." Before the publication of this article, Mao Zedong and other comrades mainly explained in a positive manner the significance in the work of investigation. In September 1929 when Chen Yi reported to the CPC Central Committee on the history and current state of affairs of Zhu De and Mao Zedong's Red Army, he briefed on the practice of the No 4 Red Army in regarding the work of survey as a task of first priority in its mass work. Zhou Enlai was then in charge of drafting, in the light of Chen Yi's report, the CPC Central Committee's letter to the No 4 Red Army (the letter dated September). This letter particularly mentioned: "The work of surveys should be earnestly carried out." "You did this work well and it is of great significance in understanding the reality in China's rural areas and in facilitating the making of decisions on the strategy of the agrarian revolution." In December 1929, in accordance with the spirit of the September letter from the CPC Central Committee, Mao Zedong drafted a resolution for the ninth party congress of the No 4 Red Army (the resolution of the Gutian Congress) and viewed the significance of the work of surveys from the high plane of eliminating idealist concepts (later called "subjectivism") in order to correctly direct the revolution. He pointed out: "If one was divorced from the investigation of the actual situation, he would fall into the abyss of pursuing daydreams and conducting rash actions." These ideas in the resolution of the Gutian Congress reflected the collective wisdom and common experiences of the party, the Red Army, and their leaders, which were collected and improved by Mao Zedong. "Oppose Bookworship" goes a stride forward on the basis of the resolution. It systematically expounds in great length on the basic ideas of the resolution concerning eliminating the idealist concept and paying attention to making practical investigation. By pointedly and sharply criticizing bookworship (dogmatism) and its serious harms, the article greatly enriches and develops these basic ideas. For the first time in the history of our party, it clearly puts forward the problem related to the party's ideological line, called for "making investigation among the masses of the people," and expounded on the magnificent truth that "the victory of the revolutionary struggle in China depends on Chinese comrades' understanding of the state of affairs in China." In this manner, the embryonic forms of the three basic viewpoints (seeking truth from facts, the mass line, and maintaining independence and taking the initiative on one's own) of the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought initially took shape.

How should we narrate the fundamental characteristics of Mao Zedong Philosophical Thought? I have put forward the following view: "Mao Zedong Philosophical Thought is a philosophical summing up of the experiences in integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. It provides a philosophical proof for the necessity of integrating the universal principles of Marxism with the concrete practice of the revolution in various countries--in China, the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. It makes a philosophical analysis and repudiates the subjective tendency, particularly the dogmatist tendency, which goes against the principle of integrating Marxism with the practice of the Chinese revolution, and teaches us a method from the philosophical approach to integrate the universal principles of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. It is a philosophy which took shape in the process of integrating Marxism with the practice of the Chinese revolution and which has become the ideological line and methods and working line and methods for China's communists." The article "Oppose Bookworship" very vividly embodies this fundamental characteristic of Mao Zedong Philosophical Thought.

Scientific Methodology or "Parochial Empiricism?"

In our party's history, there has been a philosophical debate, namely a debate on "parochial empiricism." Even now, this debate still arouses reverberations at home and abroad. This debate has been directly caused by the slogan "one has no say if one has not made any investigation." This is a slogan against dogmatism. When the Wang Ming dogmatism ruled the CPC Central Committee and entered the Soviet areas in Jiangxi, this slogan met opposition and criticism and was denounced as what was called "a backward parochial empiricist idea that negates theory and politics" (resolution of the Gannan meeting).

Later, Comrade Mao Zedong time and again talked about this debate.

In October 1939, he wrote for the journal SHISHI WENTI CONGKAN ("Collection of Articles on Questions Related to Current Affairs") An article entitled "A Study of the Areas Occupied by the Enemy," in which he said: "It is indeed necessary and important to study questions related to current affairs and to provide materials for all cadres in the war of resistance against Japan in this manner. We must abolish the work style of 'closing our eyes in catching fish with our hands' and of giving opinions without having a look into the situation. 'One has no say if one has not made any investigation.' In other words, 'in studying questions related to current affairs, we must first acquire materials.' This is a minimum requirement of a scientific methodology and has nothing to do with 'parochial empiricism.'" ("Collection of Mao Zedong's Writings on the Work of the Press")

In March 1941, in his "Second Preface to Rural Surveys," he said again: "'One has no say if one has not made any investigation.' Though this idea has been ironically called by some people an idea of 'parochial empiricism,' I never regretted, even by now. On the contrary, I continue to insist that it is impossible for a person to have any say if he has not made any investigation.

There are quite a few people who give comments and opinions and made criticism and charges as soon as they arrive at a place. In fact, such people will inevitably wind up in failure, for their comments and criticism are given without making a thorough investigation and are, therefore, nothing but ignorant and wild opinions. Our party has suffered countless losses from the so-called 'imperial envoys.' However, such 'imperial envoys' are large in number and can almost be found everywhere. As Stalin correctly said: 'If theory is not combined with revolutionary practice, it will become aimless.' Of course, he was again correct in his words: 'If practice is not guided by revolutionary theory, it will become a blind practice.' Except for the practitioners who acted blindly and who have no future and no foresight, no one can be called as 'parochial empiricists.'"

History has long since given a conclusion to this debate, Wang Ming's dogmatism, which opposed investigation and study and seeking truth from facts, nearly ruined the Chinese revolution, while Mao Zedong, who persisted in making investigation and study and seeking [word indistinct] the Chinese revolution to victory. The theory on the Chinese revolution created by Mao [words indistinct] the reality in China and summing up the experiences in our [word indistinct] and his series of scientific [phrases indistinct]

In fact, even at the time when he put forth and insisted on the slogan of "one has no say if one has not made any investigation," Comrade Mao Zedong by no means failed to pay enough attention to the guidance of Marxist theory and methods. In the resolution of the Gutian meeting, Mao Zedong stressed two things: 1) Educating our party members to apply Marxist methods in analyzing the political situation and estimating the strength of various classes; and 2) urging our party members to pay attention to making social and economic investigation and study. When he was drafting the Gutian resolution, Mao Zedong wrote a letter to the CPC Central Committee in which he stresses: "However, our party members' knowledge about theory is too little and we must hurry to educate them. Therefore, in addition to our request to the Central Committee to send us by post the inner-party publications, we ask you to buy a number of books for us.... We are thirsting for the books and publications and hope that you will not fail to send them to us, thinking that they are not important." In his article "Oppose Bookworship," Mao Zedong also gave specific exposition on the necessity for the correct theory and methods of investigation and for realizing that investigation had to be mainly aimed at understanding the political and economic conditions of the various classes in our society. The book criticizes the erroneous investigation methods of taking mechanical records without making analysis, of making investigation for the purpose of finding interesting stories, and of looking at people and things from a long distance away. It stresses the Marxist method of class analysis and discusses, in the section on "techniques of investigation," the various kinds of concrete methods for acquiring correct understanding.

What we should particularly mention is the "Circular of the General Political Department on a Survey of the State of Affairs Concerning Population and Land" dated April 1931. In this circular, Mao Zedong stressed the necessity for acquiring the primary data about land and population and stipulated the criteria for deciding what class categories a person belonged to. In conclusion, he put forth:

"Our slogans are:

"1. One has no say if one has not made any investigation, and

"2. Nor does one have a say if he fails to make correct investigation."

This provides an important supplement to the slogan "one has no say if one has not made any investigation." The simultaneous raising of those two slogans placed even greater emphasis on the importance of applying Marxist methods to making correct investigation. Therefore, this is of great significance. This circular must be regarded as an important additional section to the article "Oppose Bookworship."

In September 1941, Mao Zedong gave a speech entitled "On Rural Surveys," in which he emphatically expounded on the questions related to the methods of investigation and study. The speech mentioned the three steps in understanding things. (First step: observing the rough outline of things and forming a general understanding; second step: using the method of analysis to carefully study all the various parts of things; and third step: using the method of synthesization to synthesize the analysis of various parts.) These steps are very important. Moreover, the speech pithily expounds on the relations between "acquiring detailed data" and "grasping key points." It points out that "the more data we collect, the better, but we must grasp the key factors or characteristics (the principal aspects of contradictions)." He said: "True, one has no say if he has made no investigation, but some comrades have asked: 'What if I have made investigation of 90 percent of the investigation objects? Do I have a say?' I think that if the 90 percent that you have missed the major things, then you will still have no say." "Therefore, when we are doing the work of synthesization, we should be on our guard against the pitfall of parochial empiricism."

From the above we can see that Mao Zedong always advocated making correct investigation with Marxist theory and methods. This idea and slogan is by no means parochial empiricism but is precisely a scientific methodology.

Value of Cognition of the Data From Investigation

When we emphasize the value of the articles on theory in the collection of writings about rural surveys as Mao Zedong's philosophical works, we must also attach importance to the value of this collection as an integrated book. This means that we must also attach importance to the value of the various reports of investigation materials in this collection and the relationships between these reports and the theoretical articles in this collection. There are 11 investigation reports in this collection, of which 5 are most integrate. Among these reports, the "Examples of the Life of Chinese Tenant-Peasants" and the "Xunwu Survey" are newly added to the collection, while the "Xiangguo Survey," "Changgang Township Survey," and the "Caixi Township Survey" were included in the previous edition, but they have been carefully checked and revised in this new edition. Moreover, as these three reports have not been reprinted since the founding of the PRC, many comrades are not familiar with them. I think that these reports are of cognitive value for the readers today.

1. These survey materials are of great value in helping us understand the rural areas in old China (in the "Xunwu Survey" there was an analysis of Xunwu Town--"A town of agriculture and handicrafts"). They record the ownership of land, the situation of exploitation, the circulation of commodities, the evolution of rural fairs, and the social life in our rural areas at that time, including the life of prostitutes and gangsters and the change in fashion of clothing and hairstyles. Compared with articles on theory, these materials provide lots of vivid, concrete, and true details which we cannot find in articles on theory. Compared with literary and art works, they provide a scientific, systematic, and quantitative analysis that literary and art works are short of. If we combine the study of these materials with that of the theoretical articles such as "Analysis of the Various Classes in Chinese Society" and the "Chinese Revolution and the CPC," our knowledge about the class and social situation in old China will be greatly deepened and enriched. We can also add to these articles some conclusions that they fail to make. (For example, the analysis in the "Xunwu Survey" of the new and old factions of the landlords, and particularly of the various strata of small landlords.) The understanding of old China greatly facilitates the understanding of new China, because people can make actual comparisons and thus see the links that still exist between new and old China and the great change that has already taken place. If a new Xunwu survey is made in accordance with the example of the "Xunwu Survey" and the results of the new survey are compared with those of the survey 50 years ago, it will certainly be of great scientific educational value. In doing our sociological research, it is imperative to carry out such continuous social surveys in fixed areas.

2. These survey materials are of great value in understanding the history of the initial period of the agrarian revolution in China. What they record about the profound impact of this revolution, the revolutionary initiative it aroused in the heart of hearts of the masses of rural people, and the brand new life it established in our revolutionary rural areas is fascinating. They also contain some narration on phenomena related to the law in the process of peasant revolution (such as the arduous process of dividing up the land and establishing the political power). Some historians think that these narrations provide a clue in researching the history of the revolutionary struggle of peasants in ancient China. This is a view with sound judgment.

3. These materials concretely reflect the process in which Mao Zedong and our party understood the classes in Chinese rural areas and the agrarian revolution. The book contains two land laws of the initial period of the agrarian revolution. At the end of each of these laws, Mao Zedong wrote some notes pointing out the errors in them and the later revision of these errors. He said: "I preserve these two land laws in order to show the development of our understanding of the agrarian struggle." In fact, this is appropriate not only to these land laws but also to all the survey materials. Epistemology is a summary of the history of understanding things. If we say that in the epistemology discussed in Mao Zedong's "On Practice" he also summed up the experience of the history of his own understanding, the experience he gained from the history of his understanding of Chinese agrarian struggle must be an important part of it. Learning through this book the historical development of Mao Zedong and our party's understanding of the agrarian struggle will facilitate a better understanding of the principles of epistemology expounded in "On Practice."

4. Most of these materials are survey reports worked out through processing the data of the surveys. In the postscripts of these reports and in certain paragraphs of these reports (such as the section "What Was Xunwu Town?"), there are lots of narration on the significance and methods of the investigation and study. In addition, in these reports, there are also many examples of applying historical materialism in analyzing social phenomena. Naturally, these narrations and examples are of philosophical significance.

In short, the "Collection of Mao Zedong's Writings on Rural Surveys" takes in the important works of the early 1930's when Mao Zedong put forth the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and making investigation and study and when he was fighting against the erroneous tendency that ran counter to this ideological line. It is a book that we must read in studying and researching Mao Zedong Philosophical Thought. In early 1940's, when the Yanan Rectification--centered on opposing subjectivism and solving the problems related to the ideological line--was soon begun throughout our party, Mao Zedong personally edited and published the initial version of this book "Rural Surveys." He did not do that casually. The preface and postscript that Mao Zedong wrote for "Rural Surveys," and the decision on investigation and surveys made by the CPC Central Committee soon afterword were all documents of that rectification. In the early 1960's, when Mao Zedong once more advocated investigation and study and vigorously tried to correct certain mistakes in the "Great Leap Forward" and the people's commune movement, the essential cause of which was the erroneous ideological line, he reprinted the old article "Oppose Bookworship" and published it in a widespread manner. Nor was this done casually. Mao Zedong required the entire party to conscientiously study this article and guided the drafting of the important document entitled "CPC Central Committee Letter to all the Central Committee's Bureaus and all the Provincial, Municipal, and Regional CPC Committees on the Question of Conscientiously Carrying Out the Work of Investigation." Moreover, he wrote a number of letters to personally organize the work of investigation ("To Tian Jiaying" in May 1961), to require the comrades of the entire party to "find truth from the masses of the people" through investigation ("To Deng Xiaoping" in April 1961), and to "completely ban the malpractice of a few people in party committees making extremely harmful subjective 'policies' without making investigation or discussing them with the masses of people" ("To Zhang Pinghua" in May 1961). These letters are already included in the collection of letters. In the early 1980's, after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee corrected the mistakes of the past and reestablished the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, a more perfect edition of the "Collection of Mao Zedong's Writings on Rural Surveys" was published. [word indistinct] was not a casual matter either. Judging by the emergence and circulation of these works in the four periods of the early 1930's, the early 1940's, the early 1960's, and the early 1980's, it is very clear that they are of great significance in studying and researching Mao Zedong Philosophical Thought and in solving the party's problem related to its ideological line.

CSO: 4005/343

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOVIET FILM TO BE SHOWN DURING SPRING FESTIVAL

OW251433 Beijing XINHUA in English 1243 GMT 25 Jan 84

[Text] Beijing, 25 Jan (XINHUA)--The China Film Distribution and Exhibition Corporation will release 22 Chinese and foreign films during the 3-day Spring Festival holiday, a corporation spokesman said here today.

A total of 57 new movies will be shown in Beijing alone in February.

The holiday releases include "Our Niu Baisui," which depicts recent changes in the Chinese countryside under the production responsibility system, and "Events Behind the Accused," which centers on a factory director's struggle against unhealthy trends in society at large. Also to be shown is "Ward No 16," a drama examining the pursuits and ambitions of a group of young hospital patients after the ten-year turmoil of the "Cultural Revolution."

China's first musical film, "The Moon Over the Sea," which describes how a fisherman's daughter becomes a singer, will also be screened.

An American production, "The Illegal," and a Moroccan film, "Amok" will be presented, while the Soviet film, "Chapayev," will be revived.

The China Central Television (CCTV) will air a special program on February 1, the eve of the Spring Festival. The six-hour spectacular will include folk songs, ballad singing, traditional Chinese operas, pantomime, cross-talk, wushu (martial arts) and table tennis.

Some 14 hours of programming will be offered on each of the following four days, including movies, modern dramas, Chinese and foreign music and songs, TV plays, traditional operas, sports contests, circuses and magic shows, performances by foreign art groups and special programs for children.

CSO: 4000/191

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

JIUSAN SOCIETY DISCUSSES NATIONAL REUNIFICATION

OW292002 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1512 GMT 28 Jan 84

[Text] Beijing, 28 Jan (XINHUA)--Part of the membership of the Central Committee and the members of Jiusan Society in Beijing held a symposium today to talk about the great cause of the motherland's reunification. In his written speech, Xu Deheng, chairman of the Central Committee of Jiusan Society, extended his festive greetings to the friends of the scientific, cultural and educational circles of Taiwan and, in his capacity as a former political instructor of the Huangpu Military Academy, he welcomed the alumni of the academy to visit the mainland.

In his written speech, Xu Deheng also pointed out that it was a great loss to the people and the nation in that the friends of the scientific, technological, cultural and educational circles of Taiwan and the mainland had not been able to carry out cultural exchanges directly for more than 30 years. He believed that the speech made at the New Year's tea party by chairman of the CPPCC National Committee Deng Yingchao and the principles on the peaceful reunification of the motherland reiterated by Premier Zhao Ziyang during his visit to the United States were completely in accord with the interests of the people of the whole nation, including the people of Taiwan. He hoped the Taiwan authorities would give primary consideration to the national interest and act jointly with the CPC in accomplishing the great task of the motherland's reunification.

Mao Yisheng, vice chairman of the Central Committee of Jiusan Society, and experts in various fields including Zheng Zuoxin, Hu Hougen, Jia Lanbo, Chen Mingshao, Yin Falu, Fan Jizhou and Jiang Changsui also spoke at the symposium, expressing the misery caused by the long separation of the flesh and blood on the two sides of the strait and their aspirations for an early reunification of the motherland.

Zhou Peiyuan, vice chairman of the Central Committee of Jiusan Society, presided over the symposium. Vice Chairmen Pan Shu, Yan Jici, Sun Chengpei and Hao Yichun attended.

CSO: 4005/351

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZHU MUZHI ATTENDS XINHUA BOOKSTORE ANNIVERSARY

OW131025 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1419 GMT 12 Jan 84

[By reporter Li Guangru]

[Text] Beijing, 12 Jan (XINHUA)--Over 500 publishing devotees in the capital gathered at the CPPCC auditorium this afternoon to greet the 30th founding anniversary of the Beijing Distribution Center of the XINHUA Bookstore, China's largest wholesaler of Chinese books.

The center, founded on 1 January 1954, has distributed 10 billion copies of books of all descriptions over the past 30 years. It has now become a large enterprise, handling the distribution of books published by 115 publishing houses. In recent years, the center has distributed approximately 700 million books of over 12,900 kinds each year. In addition to textbooks, one-third of the books marketed in the country are distributed by this center.

Among the well-wishers today were Hu Yizhi, the 88-year-old vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee; and Zhu Muzhi, minister of culture. Speaking at the meeting, Hu Yuzhi expressed the hope that the distribution center will become the "home of readers, a treasure house of knowledge, and the market of spiritual civilization" during the new historical period.

Wang Hiquan, president of XINHUA Bookstore, pointed out in his speech that while many people in society express many complaints about the unavailability of books, many books are unsalable and overstocked, and that the XINHUA Bookstore will from now on coordinate its operation more closely with various publishing houses and strive to satisfy the needs of all kinds of readers at basic-level units.

CSO: 4005/351

EAST REGION

SHANGHAI PARTY RECTIFICATION ADOPTS YANAN SPIRIT

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Nov 83 p 1

[Article: "Shanghai Develops Yanan Spirit in Party Rectification, Leads Study of Party Rectification Documents"]

[Text] Party members and cadres above government bureau grade in the standing committee of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress are now in the midst of conducting party rectification study, and are resolved to properly perform the party member leading cadre functions of showing the way and providing examples of sincere study of the Communist Party Central Committee resolutions, completely and precisely understanding the spirit of the party rectification documents, consciously strengthening party spirit, imbuing themselves with the revolutionary spirit of seasoned communist party members and actively becoming involved with party rectification.

The great majority of party member leadership cadres participating in this party rectification study were old comrades who took part in the revolution during the 1930's and 1940's. Many of these comrades experienced the Yanan rectification, and during study they recalled conditions they underwent at that time. They all felt that the Yanan rectification was fine and that it played a major role in guaranteeing victory in the War of Resistance against Japan and in the War of Liberation. However, during the Yanan rectification, Kang Sheng [1660 3932] engineered a "salvage operation" which harmed a number of comrades. Everyone feels that this party rectification is a major move that the party is making to grasp major victories in the new historical period, so it must be properly conducted, with strict avoidance of any detours. This requires that the broad party membership, especially party member leading cadres, correctly and thoroughly implement the basic guiding principles, basic tasks, basic policies and basic methods of the Party Central Committee resolutions on party rectification. People all say that thought is the precursor of action. Consequently, it is first necessary to undergo sincere study before there can be complete and precise comprehension of the spiritual quality of the party rectification documents. Everyone said: We party leadership cadres also are Communist Party members who received

party training in the 1940's and 1950's, so we definitely can provide good leadership in the present party rectification study by being models of complete, precise understanding and grasp of the spiritual qualities of the party rectification documents. In this way we can make progress in strengthening party spirit and moreover can guide tasks, help cadres, guarantee party strength and smoothly make progress.

In order to provide proper guidance in study of the party rectification documents, although these old comrades were over 60 or 70 years old, they all were full of political enthusiasm for study. Ever since the last ten days of October, they have gathered together early every day for two weeks to come to the Municipal People's Standing Committee offices to participate in study. Their attitude toward study was very sincere. They not only sincerely read the party rectification documents, they also read the related Marxist-Leninist works. Prior to the discussion, everyone deeply concentrated on these matters, made sincere preparations and wrote outlines for their talks. During the discussions the talks were enthusiastic and thought was openly expressed. The spirit of study in these old comrades established a model for the Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee offices and stimulated everyone to sincerely engage in study of the party rectification documents.

During the study discussions, everyone applied the realities of propagandizing the cultural and educational battlefront and deeply felt the urgency and necessity of purging the spiritual pollution. Everyone felt that Communist Party members, especially the influential Communist Party members heading leadership tasks, must certainly stand in the forefront of eliminating spiritual pollution and take a clear-cut stand in carrying out an active ideological battle. Personal actions which were correct should be supported while incorrect actions should be investigated, and right and wrong should be clearly explained. Of course, criticism must take a Marxist stance and have a helpful intention, which is to clarify ideology and unify the comrades. There must be no repetition of the previous so-called criticism which always rose to a higher plane and was excessively violent. Everyone also carried out relatively systematic, rational criticism of the erroneous viewpoint of the so-called "socialist alienation." These old comrades previously performed leadership work on all battlefronts of the party, the government and the army. During study some comrades even related past conditions in units or departments under their leadership and expressed sincerity in sorting out the issues of capitalist thought influences and spiritual pollution. Everyone expressed the idea that in the process of eliminating spiritual pollution, unifying thought and in the entire party rectification they all must adopt the attitude of great responsibility that an old Communist Party member has toward communism in order to carry out self-education and self-transformation and make progress in strengthening party spirit.

EAST REGION

SHANGHAI PEOPLE'S PRESS STRESSES POLITICAL THEORY BOOKS

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Nov 83 p 1

[Article: "The Shanghai People's Publishing House Strives to Publish Political Theory Literature"]

[Text] The Shanghai People's Publishing House firmly supports the publishing policy of "serving the people and serving socialism." In recent years it has published a number of basic books propagandizing Marxism and popular works on education in patriotism and communism. These books were well received by the broad readership, and included: "Zhongguo Tongshi Gangyao-An Outline of Chinese History," "Qiantan Mao Zedong Sixiang-Elementary Talks on Mao Zedong Thought," "Jianming Zhexue Yuanli-Concise Principles of Philosophy" and "Zhengzhi Jingjixue Jiaocai-Educational Materials on Political Economics." These works received first and second prizes in the First All-China Popular Political Theory Book Contest. "Xingfuzhi Lu zai Hefang-Where is the Road to Well-being" and "Xin Dao de Sanzijing-Three Character Classic on the New Morality" received second prize in the All-China Agricultural Book Contest. "Suzao Meide Xinling: Li Yanjie [2621 3601 2638] de Baogaoji-Portrait of a Beautiful Spirit: The Collected Reports of Li Yanjie," "Daode Kexue Zhishi Jianghua-Lectures on Morals and Scientific Knowledge" and "Zhongguo Gongchandang Lishi Jiangyi-Teaching Materials on Chinese Communist Party History" were among 26 titles chosen by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the Central Committee of the Communist League and various provinces and cities as recommended reading in the book reading movement.

Because of the ten years of chaos, because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" confused false with truth, and because of the influences of "left" ideology and bourgeois liberalism, a great many political theory books suddenly were in ill repute. Grim reality forced the comrades in the publishing house to realize that in order to firmly uphold a correct policy of publishing and proceed with assurance in propagandizing Marxism-Mao Zedong thought and propagandizing the line, principles and policies since the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Committee, they must become involved with reality, understand the new conditions and study the new issues. During the investigation they discovered that in being subjected

to the ten years of chaos the basic theories of Marxism were thrown into utter confusion, so that many comrades cannot clearly distinguish materialism from idealism and clearly distinguish dialectics from metaphysics. By conducting the investigation they understood that it was not that the masses did not need political theory books, but that in the struggle to implement the four modernizations, Marxist theory and the party line and policy ought to fully realize a leading role and have more clearly defined responsibilities, which are to protect the socialist front, uphold the direction of "dual service" and search out a new path in the new situation to produce good political theory books. Just at this time the leadership transmitted the directive from Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang concerning the strengthening of publishing work in popular political theory books. After studying the spirit of the talks by the leading comrades of the Party Central Committee, the leaders and masses of the publishing house made great progress in understanding, the direction was clearer and they had greater vitality. Later, at the Conference on Implementing the Writing of Popular Political Theory Books convened by the former State Publishing Bureau, the publishing house undertook a selection of titles in six categories and moreover strengthened leadership in the writing and publication of these books.

In order to produce good political theory books, this publishing house decided that each year the title selection plan and the key books plan would definitely contain a considerable proportion of Marxist popular books and teaching materials. For example, among the key books of 1980, there were five titles, including "Zuo yige Hegede Gongchandangyuan—On Being a Qualified Communist Party Member," "Woguo Minzu Wenti Jiben Zhishi—Basic Knowledge on China's Minority Nationality Issues" and "Zhengzhi Jingjixue Jiaocai—Political Economy Educational Materials." In 1982, there were six key books, including, "Xinshiqi Jingji Zhengci Jianghua—Talks on Economic Policies for the New Age" and "Xiangei Zhengzai Sikaode Daxuesheng—For University Students Now in Deep Thought." Key books comprised over one-half of the total. In order to provide the broad cadres and intellectual youths with a set of texts on Marxist basic knowledge, these publishers began in 1981 to edit "Xuexe Congshu—Collected Studies," and moreover laid out the key work for the whole publishing house for the next few years. This series of books takes the three component factors of Marxism as well as the theory of party building as the core elements, including Marxist law, logic, aesthetics, social science and psychology. Six titles have already been published.

As for the primary popular political theory books, after making arrangements for these key books they focused their energies on properly performing the work. For example, in the task of improving the quality of the book "Qiantan Mao Zedong Sixiang," two of the publishing house's leaders participated in discussions on the preliminary draft and the office chief and two editors paid two

visits to the Central Committee Party Schools to help the author revise the drafts. After publication of this book the readers responded that this was the first book which completely and systematically explained Mao Zedong thought. Furthermore, a great deal of energy was also expended on publishing such books as "Jianming Zhexue Yuanli," "Zuo yige Hegede Gongchandangyuan," "Dangyuan Xiuyang Mantan-Talks on Party Member Cultivation" and "Qingong Zhengshi Duben-Youth Work Political Reader." These books are of high quality and were published at the right time so they were issued in relatively great numbers.

The Shanghai People's Publishing House believes it must hold fast to the "dual service" direction and maintain high quality. They have innumerable plans, are actively thinking, follow a mass policy and use mass strength, use the "three new" (new content, new ideology and new language) to concentrate their efforts and strive to provide the mass readership with high quality spiritual nourishment. For example, in contemplating title selection for education of patriotism, the editors made a thorough investigation and discovered that young people like to listen to stories and like to read books with story episodes. Thereupon, they edited and published "Zhongguo Gudai Aiguozhede Gushi-Stories of China's Ancient Patriots" and "Zhongguo Jindai Aiguozhede Gushi-Stories of China's Modern Patriots." "Zhongguo Xiandai Aiguozhede Gushi-Stories of China's Contemporary Patriots" will soon be published. These books are written in a standard style and are inexpensive, so they are welcomed by young readers. They have been chosen by the Communist Youth League Central Committee and many provinces and cities as recommended reading in the book reading movement.

Most recently, this publishing house is in the process of studying the spirit of the Second Plenum of the Twelfth Party Committee. While approving of the accomplishments they also make progress in searching for disparities and sincerely carry out the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council Concerning the Strengthening of Publishing Work." They firmly uphold the four basic principles, consciously resist spiritual pollution and make new contributions toward building socialist material culture and spiritual culture.

11582
CS0: 4005/253

EAST REGION

GRADUATE STUDENT POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL WORK STRENGTHENED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Nov 83 p1

[Article: "Jiaotong University Graduate Student Political-Ideological Work Achieves Good Results"]

[Text] The Shanghai Jiaotong University party standing committee strengthened graduate student political-ideological work and strived to bring about healthy, moral, intellectual and physical development of graduate students.

Jiaotong University now has over 700 graduate students. For a relatively long period of time, because of unenlightened guiding thought on strengthening graduate student political-ideological work and because of indifferent physical stamina, there obviously was relatively weak political-ideological work among graduate students. This produced abnormal conditions and tasks in study, laxness in organization discipline and neglect of political direction. During summer vacation last year, the school's party committee held two meetings of the all-school political work cadres, administrative cadres and some of the faculty in which they made special studies of how to strengthen graduate student political-ideological work. At the meetings everyone offered suggestions and opinions concerning the "Sixty Regulations for Higher Education" and "Political-Ideological Work Regulations for Graduate Students," and they then formulated "The Shanghai Jiaotong University Graduate Students Political-Ideological Work Regulations." These regulations clearly stipulate that the political-ideological work for graduate students and undergraduate course students is to be identical. The secretary of the party committee in charge of student work is responsible for the first year class. The day-to-day tasks are mainly handled by the propaganda department, with help from departments of the Communist Youth League and the graduate student department. In each department the responsibilities are handled by the general party branch deputy secretary in charge of student work. Next, for each graduate student department the school's party committee allocates 17 full-time or part-time political assistants and has them pay special attention to the graduate students' ideological education, political study, organization life, school-year exams, professional study and work demonstration.

At this time, the school's party committee asked the 200-some faculty members guiding the graduate students to exercise educational guidance over them, not only in their professional work but also in political-ideological matters, and to moreover add these points into the regulations concerning graduate student ideological work. In this past year, no small number of faculty members when guiding professional studies simultaneously discussed with the students the nation's future, attitudes on life, ambitions and interests, scientific methods and even love and marriage in order to impart significant educational benefits to them. Some guidance faculty members not only made strict political demands of the graduate students to help them establish a correct view of life, they moreover set examples in all possible ways and provided models for the graduate students. Some of the guidance faculty members became closely involved with the problems in the graduate students' professional study, daily life and graduate work assignments and summed up their own experiences to provide timely, patient help. This achieved good results.

In addition, the school's party committee proceeded in accordance with the special position of graduate students in that "although they are students they differ from undergraduate students" and organized them to carry out self-education. First, they perfected the graduate students' party and Youth League organizations, regularized the conduct of party and Youth League organization activities and formed the 5.6 percent party membership and 65 percent Youth League membership of the graduate students into key brigades. Next, they formed graduate student associations and doctoral student work teams. The graduate student associations held "scholars' forums" to which they invited the following to speak: Jiaotong University President, Professor Fan Xuji [5400 4892 4614], Fudan University Vice-President, Professor Gu Chaohao [62536389 6275], Shanghai University of Science and Technology Vice-President, Professor Huang Hongjia [7806 1347 0857] and Dalian Engineering College Professor Zhong Wanxie [6945 8001 0533]. They also organized special topic discussion groups and conducted education from various aspects to cause the graduate students to ardently love the party and socialism and strengthen their professional attitude and sense of responsibility.

In this last year, the Jiaotong University graduate students' political-ideological work has already attained obvious results. Because special people are taking care of graduate student political-ideological work, such work has become regularized and the enthusiasm of these students for politics and forging ahead has been improved. Especially after the 12th Party Committee was convened, the graduate students have organized party constitution groups one after the other. Graduate students in the electrical engineering and computer departments carried out self-study of Marxist-Leninist writings and held a speech contest on the "Communist Manifesto." During the "Culture and Courtesy Month" activities, the graduate students association organized 20-30 of

their members to set up "graduate student lecturer groups" which visit the army to bring culture to the soldiers. During the last six months of last year, this university already had 23 graduate students who fulfilled party requirements and were admitted to party membership. In both their professional work and in ideology, these new party members were all praised by the faculty. During this summer vacation, when one graduate student in the Applied Physics Department traveled to Taishan he rescued a female student who had slipped from a dangerous cliff.

11582
CSO: 4005/253

EAST REGION

STRUGGLE AGAINST SPIRITUAL POLLUTION DESCRIBED

Comrade Xiang Nan Discusses "Lu-The Road"

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] In carrying out the opening to the outside and in implementing the special policies, Fujian must pay special attention to eliminating the influences of capitalist ideology and spiritual pollution. All levels of provincial, city and county party committees, especially the provincial committee, must pay special attention to the realms of theory, literature and art as well as to conditions and work on the whole ideological battlefield. This is what Comrade Xiang Nan [7309 0589] said when talking to the propaganda, culture and journalism workers on the evening of 6 November at the conclusion of the technicolor drama "Lu-The Road" recently produced by the Fujian Film Studio.

Xiang Nan said that advanced technology definitely must be imported, and that spiritual pollution definitely must be resisted. We cannot refuse to import advanced technology in order to resist spiritual pollution, and we must not forgo resisting spiritual pollution just because we want to import foreign technology. The relationship between these two must be properly dealt with. The dissemination of pornographic books and magazines, video tapes, pictures and hand-copied books is a major factor in leading young people to crime and in poor social security. This must resolutely be put in order. The major criminal elements must be severely punished, and there can be no wavering on this point.

Xiang Nan said that the desire to stress economic work and develop material wealth is no reason to relax our political-ideological work and neglect construction of spiritual civilization. We definitely must work hard at "construction of the two civilizations." All levels of the province, city and county party committees, especially the provincial committee, must pay special attention to the realms of theory, literature and are as well as to conditions and work on the entire ideological battlefield and transform the weakness and laxness in our leadership.

When some comrades reflected that because of the elimination of spiritual pollution, individuals felt some ideological tensions and therefore some works and plays were not issued or performed, Xiang Nan, in reply to this point, said that this time the elimination of spiritual pollution was not a mass movement, and he hoped that the comrades in the realms of theory, literature and art would not be nervous but rather would be enthusiastic, participate in study on their own initiative, support the four fundamental principles, and support the socialist direction. The elimination of spiritual pollution is to give theoretical circles more vigor, to bring greater prosperity to literary and art circles and to provide the people with more healthy spiritual products in greater abundance and of better quality, rather than the opposite. He said that ideological, theoretical, art and literary problems should be subjected to criticism and self-criticism to arrive at solutions. This criticism must be reasonable, strict, comradely, and suit the matter at hand; it should not be arbitrary, vulgar, conclusive and should be free of the error of rising to a higher plane. This is the key link in whether the work of eliminating pollution can be properly carried out, and those comrades who cannot immediately comprehend this should be given some time in which to seriously contemplate things. Forcing people to adopt an attitude of outer acceptance and inner denial not only is non-beneficial but is harmful. However, there should be no quibbling in defense of one's own errors or any refusal to accept criticism.

Xiang Nan said that for the last few years the Fujian realms of theory, literature and art have been relatively lively, their work has been successful and the main aspects have been good, and this must be noted. However, they also must recognize their own problems, and some problems are still quite severe. This not only indicates that resistance to mistaken foreign thought and spiritual pollution is not strong, moreover, some people are personally faced with the problems of separation from reality, separation from direction of the party leadership, and the commercialization of spiritual products.

Xiang Nan said that the key link right now is proper study. If there is proper study of the Party Central Committee resolution concerning party rectification, proper study of the major speeches of Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun at the 12th CPC Party Committee, accurate criticism and self-criticism and right handling of both study and criticism, then we definitely can make great progress in theoretical, art and literary work to better serve socialism and construction of the four modernizations by building a strong, healthy brigade which excels in propagandizing Marxism and excels in resisting spiritual pollution. Such a brigade can only be formed in the struggles of criticism, self-criticism and in resisting spiritual pollution.

In discussing the film "The Road," Comrade Xiang Nan said that it vividly reflected the extremely difficult conditions under which a number of youths relied on the party and their own strength to continually overcome hardships and bravely renovate and explore. They wanted to cast off conditions of poverty and backwardness in their homeland to build a new Great Wall, and although they will still encounter various hardships and have a very long road to traverse the future is bright. He said that "The Road" is a good film, it is healthy and uplifting, filled with the breath of life and of a certain depth. He believes that after it is shown it will achieve widespread mass approval.

Symposium on Ideological Work in Higher Education

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Nov 83 p 1

[Article by Huang Yinchun [7806 0603 2504]]

[Text] During 5-8 November, the Provincial Higher Education Bureau successively held one symposium on Ideological Work in Schools of Higher Education which was attended by responsible people of all higher education institute school party committee chiefs and propaganda department chiefs, and it also held another symposium on Eliminating Spiritual Pollution for Schools of Higher Education, which was attended by teachers and experts. The comrades attending the symposia all believe that it is necessary to strengthen higher education institute and school political-ideological work to thoroughly eliminate spiritual pollution.

The comrades participating in the two symposia are in touch with actual conditions on our province's educational battlefield, and all believe that since smashing the "gang of four," education in our province has developed rapidly, achieved obvious success, and that the main current of student ideology is good. However, some teachers and students have been influenced by bourgeois ideology and have serious spiritual pollution. They are not particularly interested in studying Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong thought, some pursue bourgeois freedom, some admire Western so-called modern trends of thought, they openly advocate that literature and art should "disdain to be the spiritual call to arms for the age," and that artistic creation ought to "adopt an unorthodox posture to challenge tradition." Some teachers in their classrooms say vulgar, senseless and disgusting things. Some workers and personnel in a few college electronics classrooms act on their own to copy recordings and broadcast pornography and licentious video tapes which harm the people's character. There also are people who use their time to read hand-copied pornographic novels and some listen to decadent music, so that individual students are morally degenerate and even enter a life of crime. Everyone believes that it is extremely important and also very timely for the Party Central Committee to put forth a policy on eliminating spiritual pollution and that the schools should be models in doing so.

The comrades attending the meeting believe that tangible spiritual pollution should be closely investigated in a thorough manner. Whatever ought to be investigated must be investigated, no matter to whom or where it leads, it must be carried to the full extent and completely eliminated. What ought to be handled must be thoroughly handled. At the same time, the schools' party committees should organize the teachers and students to sincerely study the documents, improve the level of theory, clearly distinguish the issues of right and wrong on the ideological battlefield, clearly distinguish the borderline between political issues and academic issues and make resolute criticism of errors. The teachers should be organized to write analytical, critical and relatively high-quality articles, conduct academic discussions, help people distinguish right and wrong and improve understanding.

All comrades say that Chairman Mao was right in saying that the political-ideological work of students must be guided by the party, the CYL, the school principal and the teachers. Teachers are with the students all day and have a great influence on them. Teachers must transmit professional knowledge and must also perform ideological education work to teach and educate people.

University Fights Spiritual Pollution

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 17 Nov 83 p1

[Text] The Nanjing University CYL and Student Association recently proposed to all fellow students in the province's higher education institutes and colleges that they stand in the front ranks in resisting and eliminating spiritual pollution and become red and expert reliable successors in the revolutionary cause.

The "proposal" said that the elimination of spiritual pollution is a major affair which is related to the fate and future of the party and the state. Schools of higher education are concerned with what kind of successors will be trained for the communist cause. In the last few years, spiritual pollution has caused some graduate students and college students to definitely have various ideological confusion and harmful tendencies, with serious consequences. We ought to respond to the party's call, take immediate action and bravely stand the forefront of the struggle to eliminate spiritual pollution.

1. Resolutely support the four fundamental principles, sincerely study Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong thought and guarantee consistency of politics with the Party Central Committee. Correctly study Marxism, Leninism classes, correctly study "Deng Xiaoping Wenxuan—The Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping," and grasp the fundamental stance, view and methodology of Marxism. Train a theoretical core and promote study groups of Marxism, Leninism and the "Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping. Improve the ability to make distinctions and resist spiritual pollution in such ideological areas as art, literature and theory.

2. Hold lofty ambitions and resolve to vigorously promote China. Clearly define the goals of study, oppose deviations from the socialist direction and national needs, promote "individual struggles," "self-planning" and "individual material benefits." After graduation, respond to the summons of the homeland, and while in school, frequently engage in activities which provide the people with knowledge, and establish professional consulting service groups.

3. Have abundant extracurricular student activities, and mold lofty moral values. Read progressive literature, sing beautiful songs, speak healthy words and act in a civilized manner. Develop the function of "the second classrooms," student associations, university student clubs and university student blackboard newspapers and eliminate all low-class, vulgar spiritual garbage.

4. Strengthen concepts of law and discipline, oppose liberalism and anarchism. Forcefully put a stop to fighting and contention, cheating on examinations, skipping school and other such bad practices. Continue to properly carry out the "three studyhalls, one library, one dormitory" competitive activities and nurture a good school style to promote a basic turn for the better in the social mood.

5. Establish a revolutionary life view, carry on the arduous, plain and glorious traditions, and resist the corruption of a bourgeois life style. Do not wear outlandish clothes, do not have strange hair styles, and do not smoke or drink. Put a stop to the mistaken behavior of wasting food and electricity and destroying public property.

In order to bring about the implementation of the above proposals we set up an investigation of civilization in school style with a system of daily duty, established a "civilization supervision network" and organized "school style investigation personnel," with all individuals safeguarding school style and school discipline, resisting spiritual pollution and being ideal, moral, cultured and disciplined reliable successors to the communist cause.

11582

CSO: 4005/252

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HUNAN MEETING ON LOCAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESSES

HK160331 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 14 Jan 84

[Excerpts] A provincial conference on elections to the next term of the county and township people's congresses, which concluded on 14 January, stressed: Elections for the next term of the county and township people's congresses are a major event in the political life of the people of the province. Doing a good job in this work is of great significance for further perfecting the people's congress system, strengthening the building of political power at county and township level, and ensuring the smooth progress of socialist modernization. The party committees at all levels must strengthen leadership, and the departments concerned must cooperate closely to fulfill this task.

Sun Guozhi, member of the provincial CPC committee standing committee and chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, presided at the meeting and delivered a summation. Vice Chairman Qi Shouliang and responsible comrades of provincial departments concerned also spoke.

The meeting pointed out: From the angle of separating government administration from commune management, this election work will focus on electing delegates to the township people's congresses, producing township governments, and setting up economic organizations. The situation is rather complex. The provincial CPC committee will make specific arrangements for this work in accordance with the intentions of the central authorities. Hence, while publicizing the great significance of separating government administration from common management, we must repeatedly publicize the policies and methods involved. We must explain that after this separation, there will be no change in the size of the communes and brigades, in the nature of the cadres, in the ownership of public property, in the ownership of the means of production, and in the contract responsibility systems. Thus we will maintain mental steadiness among the cadres and masses. We must reach the grassroots cadres to stay at their posts and get on with their work with minds at ease. We must guard against private distribution, seizure and damage of public property. We must immediately curb such activities and deal with them severely.

CSO: 4005/333

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

CURB MALPRACTICES DURING SPRING FESTIVAL

HK160712 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Jan 84

[Text] Here is the circular issued today by the provincial discipline inspection committee on avoiding various malpractices when joyfully celebrating the Spring Festival:

The annual Spring Festival is only days away. In order to act in an all-round way and in the spirit of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee and the 4th Provincial Party Congress, party organizations and discipline inspection departments at all levels must pay attention to guiding the cadres and broad masses of people to celebrate a healthy and joyful Spring Festival, and always remember to avoid various malpractices. For this reason, a circular is specially issued, as follows:

First, we must actively guide the popular traditional festivities, and advocate healthy cultural and recreational activities. We must oppose those poisonous feudalistic and superstitious activities, and strictly prohibit the spreading and production of pornographic and obscene materials as well as gambling when playing mahjong. We must also oppose extravagant wedding and funeral arrangements. We must greatly advocate the transformation of social traditions, and promote the continuous development of building socialist spiritual civilization.

Second, we must strictly prohibit costly entertaining and presenting expensive gifts to guests with public funds. All party members, particularly leading cadres, must manage to avoid receiving gifts or entertaining and presenting gifts to guests with public funds. Any member who violates this will compensate for the economic loss, and those serious offences will be punished by party and administrative disciplinary measures.

Third, we must strictly prohibit arbitrarily issuing bonuses or payments in kind and various subsidies under all sorts of pretexts, which infringe upon state interests. In case of a violation, we must hold accountable the leaders who approve the issuance, and also recover the exact amount of money arbitrarily issued.

Fourth, we must strictly prohibit establishing relationships and securing advantages through influence by means of commodities and materials in short

supply. We must also strictly prohibit violating state stipulations, increasing prices arbitrarily, and confusing the market supply during the Spring Festival. In cases violating the state's economic policies and relevant stipulations, we should criticize and educate those people who commit minor offences while dealing with those people who commit serious offences as a violation of party discipline and state law.

Fifth, all financial and accounting departments as well as financial personnel must be devoted to their duty and uphold principles. They must strictly execute all financial rules and regulations, and be bold in waging struggle against various acts which violate financial rules and regulations, and squander and embezzle state property.

Sixth, party organizations and discipline inspection departments at all levels throughout the province must educate the party members in acting in the spirit of making corrections while rectifying, and determinedly resist and overcome various malpractices through the study of the party rectification documents. Those people who show no consideration for the stipulations of the central authorities on party rectification and continue to corrupt the party work style must be held accountable and seriously dealt with by adopting resolute measures.

The report broadcast just now is the circular issued today by the provincial discipline inspection committee on avoiding various malpractices when joyfully celebrating the Spring Festival.

CSO: 4005/333

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HUBEI HOLDS MEETING ON 'CONTROLLING' VIDEO TAPES

HK140713 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Jan 84

[Text] Provincial work meeting on controlling audio and video tapes, which ended today, pointed out: Audio and video tapes are cultural products which have ideological content. The CPC committees and governments at various levels should truly strengthen control over them in order to prevent spiritual pollution and bring the active role of recording and video tapes into full play in the building of the two civilizations.

Audio and video tapes are used in television, broadcasting, scientific research, educational, sports and cultural departments. There are more and more households which have audio and video tapes. People are becoming more and more interested in them. In recent years, due to our failure to exercise control over them, a small number of units and individuals imported, broadcast, sold and spread obscene and reactionary audio and video tapes. This corroded people's ideology. A small number of people, youngsters in particular, committed crimes because of the influence of pornographic and obscene audio and video tapes. The broad masses of people have earnestly demanded that the party and government adopt forefull measures to strengthen their control over audio and video tapes. Since 1982, in accordance with the instructions issued by the central authorities on control over audio and video tapes, the provincial radio and television bureau has closely cooperated with the departments concerned to put forth specific proposals on the control of audio and video tapes, and has investigated audio and video tapes from abroad which are sealed for safekeeping by various localities. Sales agencies and duplication centers in various localities have been reorganized. They have also investigated some video facilities.

In the process of eliminating spiritual pollution, many units have established leading groups in charge of checking and sorting out audio and video tapes. Initial results have been achieved in the work of controlling audio and video tapes. To enrich the cultural life of the masses, the provincial radio and television bureau has established the Yang Zi Jiang Audio and Video Products Company, with the approval of the provincial government. This company has nouzkegun to produce cassette recording tapes of Hubei opera and light music.

At the closing session of the meeting, Comrade (Zhou Daren), deputy director of the propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee, delivered a speech. He said: The CPC Central Committee and the State Council have attached importance to the work of exercising control over audio and video tapes. We should enhance our understanding of the importance of exercising control over audio and video tapes and strengthen leadership over this work. Exercising control over audio and video tapes is a constant and long-term task. At present, we should do the following work well: We should establish and improve institutions in charge of controlling audio and video tapes as early as possible. We should strengthen ideological education and mobilize the masses to consciously sort out and resist pornographic and obscene audio and video tapes. We should strengthen control over the production and distribution of audio and video tapes. We should strengthen control over closed-circuit television and video production for business purposes. We should strengthen ideological education and training for people who use audio and video equipment and facilities. We should do things strictly according to policy. While eliminating pollution, we should also enrich our life.

This work meeting lasted for 3 days. More than 80 persons attended the meeting. They were responsible comrades of propaganda departments and broadcasting bureaus of various prefectures, cities and counties and provincial radio and television bureaus and responsible comrades in charge of propaganda work from some units under provincial CPC committee and government, some large factories, mines, enterprises, universities, scientific research units and others.

CSO: 4005/333

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

GUANGZHOU UNITS ACTIVELY WORK ON RECTIFICATION

HK160816 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Cantonese 0030 GMT 16 Jan 84

[Text] During their party rectification studies, the standing committee of the Guangzhou PLA units seriously implemented the principle of carrying out reforms during rectification, modestly heeded the criticism of the masses, and rapidly solved some long-standing difficult problems.

Based on opinions put forward by some masses, the Guangzhou PLA units standing committee has decided after serious analysis and studies:

1. With regard to the problems which can be solved within the scope of the functions and powers of the existing level, appropriate actions should be taken immediately without delay.
2. With regard to the problems which urgently need to be rectified but which are beyond the powers of the authority at the existing level, reports should be sent in due course to the higher authorities for solution.
3. With regard to the problems which should be solved but which lack the necessary conditions to solve at present, requisite conditions should actively be created so as to strive to solve them as soon as possible.

The standing committee of the Guangzhou PLA units modestly accepts the criticism of the masses, takes prompt actions to tackle them without procrastination, and is actively engaged in solving some long-standing difficult problems: 1) Resolutely rectify unhealthy styles in the construction and distribution of houses. All those who violate the rules and occupy two residential areas are recorded and are dealt with individually. Those who live in a space above the standard will be asked to make adjustments. Two cadres of the political department have already transferred their above normal rooms to some ordinary cadres. 2) The leading cadres pay their electricity charges according to regulations, as do the ordinary cadres. 3) The leading cadres of the units should not use their names to invite their old comrades-in-arms or friends to stay in Guangzhou.

CSO: 4005/333

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES MADE IN CITIES, COUNTIES

HK140333 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Cantonese 1130 GMT 12 Jan 84

[Text] With the approval of the State Council, Guangdong has implemented the system of the city administering its surrounding counties. The following are the specific measures and relevant changes:

After the disbandment of Fushan Prefecture, Nanhai, Sanshui, Shunde and Gaoming Counties will be under the jurisdiction of Fushan City. Kaiping, Taishan, Enping, Xinhua and Heshan will be under the jurisdiction of Jiangmen City. Doumen County will be under the jurisdiction of Zhuhai City. Zhongshan City (county level) will be set up to replace Zhongshan County. The administrative division of Zhongshan County will be under the authority of Zhongshan City. Fushan City will take over the administration of Zhongshan City (county level) on behalf of the provincial government.

After the disbandment of Shantou Prefecture, Chenghai, Chaoyang, Jieyang, Jiexi, Puning, Huilai, Raoping and Nanao Counties will be under the jurisdiction of Shantou City. Haifeng and Lufeng Counties will be under the jurisdiction of Huiyang Prefecture. Chaoan County will be disbanded and its administrative division will be merged with Chaozhou City. Shantou City will take over the administration of Chaozhou City on behalf of the provincial government.

After the disbandment of Shaoguan Prefecture, Nanxiong, Shixing, Renhua, Lechang, Yongyuan, Yingde, Yangshan and Lianxian Counties and Ruyuan Yao Nationality Autonomous County, Liannan Yao Nationality Autonomous County and Lianshan Zhuang Nationality Autonomous County will be under the jurisdiction of Shaoguan City. Qingyuan and Fugang Counties will be under the jurisdiction of Guangzhou City.

After the disbandment of Zhanjiang Prefecture, Xuwen, Haikang, Lianjiang, Suiqi and Wuchuan Counties will be under the jurisdiction of Maoming City. Yangjiang and Yanchun Counties will be under the jurisdiction of Jiangmen City. Meixian County and Meizhou City will be merged with Meixian City (county level).

CSO: 4005/333

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

GUANGDONG MEETING MARKS FIRST KMT CONGRESS

HK120841 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Cantonese 1130 GMT 11 Jan 84

[Text] The Guangdong provincial academic meeting to commemorate the First National Congress of the KMT opened this morning at the Guangdong guesthouse. Leading members of the Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee, the provincial CPC advisory committee, the provincial people's congress standing committee, the provincial CPPCC committee, and the Guangzhou City CPC Committee and city CPPCC committee, including Yang Yingbin, Chen Yueping, Liang Weilin, Xiao Junying, Yi Meihou, Huang Youmou, Luo Xiongcai, Zheng Qun, Luo Jun, Liao Siguang, Zeng Tianjie, Guo Qiaoren, (Chen Yilin), Wu Juetian, Zuo Hongtao, Li Boqiu, Li Jiezhi, Zhu Senlin, Luo Peiyuan and Li Chen, together with more than 200 people, attended the opening ceremony.

The meeting was presided over by Zhen Qun, vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee. Zhang Jiangming, chairman of the provincial confederation of social science associations, delivered an opening speech. Liang Weilin, chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, made a speech at the meeting.

Liang Weilin said: In January 1924, Dr Sun Yat-sen held and presided over the first national congress of the KMT of China with the help of the CPC and the international Proletariat. The historical fact of the first CPC-KMT cooperation proved that the CPC's efforts to help the KMT reorganize and to realize its first cooperation with the KMT were completely based on the historical trend and the needs of the revolution. Today, when the hundreds of millions of Chinese people are striving to reunify their motherland and to reinvigorate their country, history once again calls for a third CPC-KMT cooperation, which represents the general trend of the times and the desire of the people. We should actively promote the third CPC-KMT cooperation, strive to realize the reunification of the motherland at an earlier date, and speed up the pace of reinvigorating China. This is the best way to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the first KMT national congress.

Speakers at today's meeting also included He Baosong, vice chairman of the provincial KMT revolutionary committee; Zhang Lei, deputy director of the provincial Academy of Social Sciences; and Professor Chen Xiqi of Zhongshan University. They delivered academic reports entitled "The Necessity of History and the Needs of Revolution," "Commemorating the First KMT National Congress," and "Dr Sun Yat-sen and the First KMT National Congress." The meeting entered the stage of academic discussions in the afternoon. Participants will visit the site of the First KMT National Congress and an exhibition held by the provincial KMT Revolutionary Committee.

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

GUANGDONG CONGRESS DISCUSSES 'SPIRITUAL POLLUTION'

HK120838 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Cantonese 0030 GMT 12 Jan 84

[Text] The Fifth Session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee concluded yesterday afternoon. Luo Tian, chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, Vice Chairman Xue Yan, and others attended the meeting.

The meeting participants approved the regulations for the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone on the conclusion of economic contracts with foreign countries and provisional regulations governing introduction into the zone of technologies from abroad, and instructed the provincial people's government to enforce them.

Participants listened to prepared reports by responsible comrades of the culture bureau, radio and television department, publishing administration bureau, higher education bureau, culture and education office, and public security bureau of Guangdong Province on the elimination of spiritual pollution and the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Meeting participants held a heated discussion, noting that elimination of spiritual pollution and building of socialist spiritual civilization is a long-term strategic task for the accomplishment of the four modernizations, and that following previous achievements, further efforts seriously must be made to grasp well this matter of great value.

Meeting participants also decided on appointments and removals.

CSO: 4005/333

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

GUANGXI HOLDS CONFERENCE ON SPIRITUAL POLLUTION

HK140704 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 12 Jan 84

[Text] From 5 to 10 January, a regional conference for propaganda department heads was held in Liuzhou. The conference summed up and exchanged experience in ideological and political work. It also studied the work of further eliminating spiritual pollution and strengthening the construction of socialist spiritual civilization.

After study of documents, introduction of typical cases, and visits and on-the-spot discussions, the participating comrades clearly pointed out: Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the region's ideological front has made some gratifying changes. This is shown in the fact that study has been strengthened, the work is rather steady and persistent, and development is rather good. At present, we have a specific understanding on the seriousness of spiritual pollution and the urgency of eliminating spiritual pollution. Regarding various pornographic video tapes and pornographic books which have widespread and profound influence, we have resolution and quickly, clear them up, and achieved relatively good results. All participating comrades held that we must by no means be satisfied with the superficial and temporary situation in curbing unhealthy trends and evil practices. Instead, we should realize that the task of eliminating spiritual pollution is a long-term and arduous one. Only when we conscientiously study and absolutely and correctly understand the spirit of the documents of the CPC Central Committee can we completely unify our understanding and uphold a serious attitude in grasping the work of eliminating spiritual pollution from beginning to end.

The conference held: The elimination of spiritual pollution and strengthening of the construction of spiritual pollution is an organic integration. It is also a dialectic unification of destruction and establishment. Spiritual pollution on the ideological front is caused by many reasons. However, in the final analysis, it is because our ideological and political work is weak, the leadership is weak and incompetent, and there is only a small amount of new and good spiritual products. In the future, we should place our main efforts on strengthening ideological and political work and constructing spiritual civilization. We should do a good job in the construction of the ideological front contingent, and improve the quality of our contingent. Only in this way can we fundamentally do well in eliminating spiritual pollution.

The conference pointed out: The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee resolutely switched the focal point of party work to economic construction. Practice has shown that this is correct. The construction of socialist material civilization is the foundation, while the construction of spiritual civilization can by no means depart from economic construction. The construction of spiritual civilization must play a tremendous role in promoting economic construction. It must also ensure that the economic construction is developing correctly. Both are mutually conditional and interdependent in their progress. In order to suit the new situation in which the party switched the focal point of work, we must strive to strengthen the construction of socialist spiritual civilization while strengthening the construction of material civilization. This is a glorious and important task which all party comrades, particularly comrades working on the ideological front, should shoulder.

Some comrades are worried that ideological and political work may not be given priority treatment in the arrangement of problems and may not be listed on the agenda of CPC committees. During the discussion, all participating comrades held that whether or not CPC committees attach great importance to the work lies in our work, that is, whether or not we do the work thoroughly in a down-to-earth manner. For example, Comrade (Fang Caiying) of (Beique) residents committee in (Liubei) District, Liuzhou City, the party branch in (Fenning) Brigade of (Wuxuan) Commune and other typical units have made achievements and have gained experience. They are highly valued by the CPC committees.

The conference urged that various single-item activities spiritual civilization be combined and that decentralized strength should be organized and brought into the general plans for constructing civilized villages, towns and units. We must launch widespread activities throughout the region to construct civilized villages and towns, civilized factories, civilized schools, civilized shops, and civilized stations. We must resist spiritual pollution and make people's livelihood healthier and happier, lively and rich and colorful. The construction of civilized villages and towns and civilized units is the foundation for constructing spiritual civilization as well as the common task of the whole party. Leadership at all levels must change their work style, go deep into reality, conscientiously sum up the experience of typical cases, and grasp the work well and in a down-to-earth manner.

The conference was attended by propaganda department heads of all prefectures, cities, counties as well as the (Beique) residents' committee in Liuzhou; responsible comrades of various units on the propaganda front directly under the regional authorities; comrades responsible for ideological and political work of departments concerned; and representatives of outstanding typical units which have made achievements in constructing spiritual civilization, totalling more than 170 people.

CSO: 4005/333

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

NEW AUTONOMOUS COUNTY SET UP IN GUANGXI 10 JANUARY

HK140310 Naning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Summary] "At 1300, some 10,000 people of various nationalities in Luocheng County held a solemn meeting at the county seat of Dongmen to mark the founding of the Luocheng Mulao Autonomous County."

(Li Minghui), head of the Luocheng Mulao Autonomous County, spoke at the meeting.

"(Zhong Qun), head of the delegation of the NPC Nationalities Committee and the State Nationalities Affairs Commission; and Jin Baosheng, head of the regional delegation and deputy secretary of the regional CPC committee, spoke at the meeting one after another. In their speeches, they extended warm greetings on the founding of the Luocheng Mulao Autonomous County and spoke highly of the contributions of the people of the Mualo nationality in shaping the glorious history and the splendid culture of the motherland and in socialist revolution and construction. They encouraged the people of all nationalities throughout the county to implement unswervingly the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, strengthen the unity between various nationalities, struggle arduously with one heart and one mind, develop the national economy, culture and education as speedily as possible, do a good job of building the two civilizations, and make new contributions in achieving the grand objective set forth by the 12th CPC National Congress."

The head of Hechi Prefectural delegation and secretary of the Hechi Prefectural CPC Committee and representatives of other fraternal county delegations also spoke at the meeting. At the conclusion of the meeting, a parade was held to mark the occasion.

CSO: 4005/333

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HENAN HOLDS MEETING ON ELIMINATING POLLUTION

HK210518 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 19 Jan 84

[Text] From 9 to 16 January, the provincial cultural department held a conference in Zhengzhou for directors of prefectural, city, and county cultural bureaus. The main aim of the conference was to convey and act in the spirit of the national conference for heads of provincial cultural departments, which was held by the Cultural Ministry. Through the study of the spirit of relevant CPC Central Committee documents, the participating responsible comrades of departments at all levels in charge of cultural affairs gained further understanding of the significance of eliminating spiritual pollution and got a clear idea about the relationship between eliminating spiritual pollution and the upholding of the socialist orientation by the literary and art circles.

Many comrades pointed out in their speeches: If we do not eliminate spiritual pollution, not only will the literary and art works deviate from the socialist orientation, but the literary and art workers too will be corroded by bourgeois as well as other exploiting class ideology. They will be in a desperate situation and will be unable to extricate themselves. Therefore, it will be difficult for them to produce good works.

The conference urged all localities to greatly push literary and art work forward while eliminating spiritual pollution. They should provide the masses with more and better nourishment for the mind so as to meet the requirement of people's culture life, which is growing day by day.

During the conference, Comrade Hou Zhiying, standing committee member of the provincial CPC committee and head of the provincial CPC committee's propaganda department, made a speech.

CSO: 4005/333

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

BRIEFS

DROP IN POPULATION GROWTH RATE--Yesterday's HUNAN RENKOU BAO [HUNAN POPULATION POST] carried on page one the following news: Governor Liu Zheng held a press conference [date and place not given], in which he said that due to the implementation of various birth control and ligation measures throughout the province in 1983, the population growth rate of our province is expected to drop from 13.52 per thousand to 12 per thousand. [Excerpt] [HK110702 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 10 Jan 84]

PEOPLE'S CONGRESS BANS GAMBLING--The standing committee of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress held its Sixth Session this afternoon, discussing and approving a decision on banning gambling. Han Ningfu, chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, presided over the meeting and Vice Chairman Li Fuquan gave an explanation to the draft of the decision. The decision notes: Gambling is an unlawful act, which corrupts people's minds, contaminates social mood, and induces criminal offenses, thus gravely jeopardizing public security and social order. All gambling activities should absolutely be prohibited. Governments at all levels as well as their public security and judicial organs, people's courts, and procuratorial organs should regard prohibition of gambling as a major work in maintaining social order in a comprehensive way. The decision calls on all departments and units to strengthen political-ideological work among cadres and the masses of people, to encourage them to take part in healthy recreational activities, and to advise them to observe discipline and the law and not to gamble. Those who are found gambling should be dealt with seriously. [Text] [HK180803 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Jan 84]

CSO: 4005/333

NORTH REGION

STRENGTHENING OF IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK DISCUSSED

Comment on Successful Experience

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 83 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Successful Experience in the Strengthening of Ideological Work in Institutions of Higher Learning"]

[Text] The Nankai University party committee has taken a conscientiously responsible attitude toward some students who have made serious political and ideological mistakes, analyzed the causes giving rise to such mistakes, helped them to correct the mistakes, and studied the question of further strengthening political and ideological work among students. Such an approach is very good; it has provided an experience of success in the strengthening of ideological education in the institutions of higher learning.

Our university students are the wealth of the state; after graduation they will become an important force in the building of our socialism. If the institutions fail to promote both redness and expertise and thereby cause some of their students to stay away from politics or even to nurture antisocialist sentiments, any further development of this situation would endanger the growth of the new generation and endanger the great cause of the construction of socialism in our country. This is an extremely serious question which merits our profound reflection. Today, the ideological work in some institutions of higher learning is rather flabby; they understand very little of the students' ideological state and seldom bother with the erroneous words and deeds exhibited among them; they even remain calm in the face of statements made by certain faculty members clearly in violation of the four basic principles. This shows to what serious degree the leadership of these institutions has deteriorated in terms of its laxity and flabbiness. Such a situation awaits urgent amelioration. As socialist universities, the institutions should strengthen their ideological and political education in order to protect the students from spiritual pollution and assure their healthy growth.

The practice at Nankai University proves that carrying out model investigations as to student thinking is a good experience in doing a good job in handling education of the students that has proved to be effective. They have not only paid attention to making clear the erroneous words and deeds exhibited by the students who made mistakes, but also concretely analyzed the objective causes

giving rise to such erroneous words and deeds. On this basis, the party and organizations at the university did sustained, assiduous and careful ideological work, pointed out the seriousness of the mistakes, directed them to read the original works of Marx and Engels and helped them to sum up their experiences and lessons and thereby caused their thinking to undergo a definite change. Such an approach, which relies mainly on dredging, the arousing of self-awareness, the mobilizing of internal causes, and the conquest of the bourgeois viewpoint by the Marxist viewpoint, is evidently good in terms of resultant effects.

Even more precious is the fact that the party committee of Nankai University did not stop its work at model investigations but, instead, choose to strengthen what would have been superficial ideological and political work through such model investigations and analyses. They have absorbed from the models thus identified the necessary experiences and lessons, heightened our consciousness in strengthening our ideological work among the students, put emphasis on the need for party and CYL cadres to comprehensively look after the students' growth, and closely watch the students' psychological and political tendencies. They have further sought, through their dissection of the identified models, to study the students' psychological characteristics and the laws of their ideological change as well as how ideological work among the students should be pursued. Such studies are necessary and beneficial.

We should say that students of the 1980's have their independent outlook and, compared to the 1950's and 1960's, the situation has undergone considerable change. We are merely making a beginning by proceeding from reality, seriously study the new situation, new characteristics, and exploring the experience of how to do ideological work among the university students in the 1980's. May the vast ranks of our educational workers, especially party members and cadres as well as faculty members in the institutions of higher learning, exert their common efforts, explore the attendant laws, accumulate pertinent experiences, and thereby make contributions to the heightening of the consciousness of the vast ranks of our university students, raising them as both red and expert socialist builders.

Commentary on Ways for Improvement

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Nov 83 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Energetically Strengthen the Building of Our Contingent of Political Workers"]

[Text] The strengthening of our ideological and political work is a required guarantee for the realization of the construction of our socialist modernization; it is a very important measure for building our socialist spiritual civilization and eliminating spiritual pollution amongst us. In order to earnestly strengthen our ideological and political work, we must endeavor to build a contingent of revolutionary, young, knowledgeable and professional cadres in political work. The party committee of the second machine industry bureau has seriously followed the mass line, selected and trained cadres in political work, and enhanced the building of our contingent of political workers; it has supplied some beneficial experience in this regard.

In the matter of building our contingent of political workers, the first important thing is to strengthen our ideological building. We must conscientiously organize the vast system of our cadres in political work to study the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and especially do a good job in studying "The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" and documents of the 2d Plenary Session of the Central Committee after the 12th CPC Congress. We must grasp study as a project of basic building effort, and do so with sustained endeavors. Our study must combine with reality and seek not only to solve well current questions in our ideological perception, but also recognize clearly the status and role of ideological and political work in the new era on the basis of having our theory combined with practice, and thereby steadfastly establish a strong career ambition and sense of responsibility. We must also organize the study of our party's principles and policies, continue to elevate the level of our policymaking capability, and thereby enable our personnel in political work to solve and handle actual problems according to our party's principles and policies. Meanwhile, we must reinforce day-to-day ideological and political work among our personnel in political work themselves so as to solve emerging problems in time.

We must carry out necessary strengthening and readjustment among our existing contingent of political workers according to the principles of our four modernizations and in conjunction with such other tasks as institutional reform, enterprises rectification, party rectification and the elimination of spiritual pollution. We must select and equip our political work departments with good leading cadres, promoting to posts of leadership those comrades who are in their prime, both virtuous and talented, suitable for political work and equipped with a creative spirit. Where the quota of cadres in political work is not yet filled, we should follow relevant regulations of the central and municipal party committees and get a handle on making up the vacancies; in the main, we should fill them with those comrades whose political quality is fine, who are rather young in age, whose cultural level is rather high, who understand some business of production and professional and technical knowledge, and who therefore meet the conditions for a cadre in political work. In the case of those who are found to be ill-suited for political work, we must carry out readjustment among them. People who cannot maintain consistency with the central authorities in politics, who oppose and resist the party's line, principles and policies, whose case is found to be serious in following individualism, liberalism and sectarianism, can definitely not continue to work in the political work departments. These "three kinds of people" must be resolutely eliminated.

We must train cadres in political work in a planned and orderly way and improve their quality. We must ascribe responsibility to the individual levels, adopt all colorful forms in running our education, open up all avenues for the pursuit of study, organize our cadres in political work to study politics, business, culture, scientific knowledge and, within 3 to 5 years, carry out rotational training among all cadres in political work. We must encourage and support our cadres in political work, insist on in-service study and maturity achieved through self-study, so as to do our best to foster a contingent of experts well versed in political work.

Party committees at all levels must look after the building of such a contingent of political workers and list this task in their agenda; they must carry out a comprehensive analysis as to the situation in their respective localities, systems, and units about this contingent of political workers and, in response to the ideological questions and practical questions existing, adopt effective measures to seriously solve them and thereby actively build a contingent of political workers capable of adapting to the new situation and the new tasks and needs nicely.

9255

CSO: 4005/276

NORTH REGION

RECTIFICATION OF MAJOR OFFICES SPOTLIGHTED

Party Committee Circular on Rectification

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 83 p 1

[Report: "Provincial Party Committee General Office Issues Circular: Rectify the 'Major Offices' of Party and Government Organs of Various Localities"]

[Text] On 29 September, the general office of the Hebei provincial CPC committee issued a circular on rectifying the "major offices" of party and government organs of the various localities.

The circular points out: Comrade Niu Yijian [3662 0001 6015] broached in his letter to Comrade Gao Yang a very important, very noteworthy question: the provincial party committee has decided to publish this letter and distribute it to party committees from the commune up in hope that a discussion can be conscientiously carried out. In this letter, some things were expressed in a rather harsh way; but they were nonetheless far from being falsehoods. The "major offices" mentioned in the letter mean the locations of party and government organs of various levels. Party and government organs occupy the core position in the upper structure of socialism and shoulder the tasks of organizing, propagandizing, and leading the masses; what their spiritual state may be may very greatly affect all circles. Therefore, in order to "assert our spirit and vitalize Hebei," the "major offices" directly under the jurisdiction of the provincial government and in the various localities should set an example and play the role of the vanguard. In view of the fact that quite a few problems exist especially in these "major offices," the provincial party committee asks that party committees of various levels, in implementing the call issued by Comrade Gao Yang on "asserting our spirit and vitalizing Hebei," must first of all conscientiously get a handle on the rectification of these "major offices."

The circular demands: all must rectify their thinking and workstyle, strengthen discipline, establish and perfect various rules and regulations, improve work efficiency, and oppose bureaucratism and government-office attitude. All localities and municipalities must handle one or two good and inadequate models of a "major office" and thereby commend the advanced and criticize the backward. All must enable the "major offices" to assume a brandnew look and become

the examples of the vast ranks of our cadres and masses and make contributions to the construction of the socialist modernization in our province.

Causative Letter

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 83 p 1

["Letter from Comrade Niu Yijian to Comrade Gao Yang"]

[Text] Comrade Gao Yang:

I am hereby making a suggestion to the provincial party committee; is this all right?

The slogan "Assert Our Spirit, Vitalize Hebei" is timely and exciting. How are we to implement it? Where should we get started? I am a long-time reporter gathering news in the cities and countryside of Hebei; I, therefore, have thought of whether or not we should start with handling the "major offices" as a breach in implementing this "assert-and-vitalize" slogan.

By so-called "major offices" I mean, for instance, the provincial party committee has one, the regional party committees and the administrative offices also constitute major offices; all county party committees and county governments each have one, and commune organs have them too. This "major office" as an appellation is a spontaneous choice of the masses. Once people have gone to the county seat, they usually come back to mention what was going on in the major offices; by these they mean no other than the major offices of the county party committee and the county government. The masses do not call them "major offices" because of how big their yards might be, but because they are the highest local official offices; their having a big reputation as well as a big gate is ordinarily understood. In the old society, these were called government offices; during the war years they were the commanding headquarters. The atmosphere in these major offices is very important; since people coming in and out are so numerous, they are just like political exhibit halls.

Over the years, there have been quite a few good major offices; but some of them have been rather lax, with people playing chess and poker as a matter of custom, and with people drinking and also playing the finger game as a matter of custom. Some major offices are full of bureaucratic air; their occupants exhibit neither diligence nor frugality, nor do they receive the masses. Some individual offices have even become private offices or private trading offices. When the masses walked into these offices, they could not but return disappointed and not being able to help talking about them. It is of even less use to speak of whether or not these organs are efficient in their work. As the commanding headquarters of our four modernizations and the nerve centers for vitalizing our spirit, they are of pivotal importance.

Throughout our province, there are altogether over 3,000 major offices situated in the countryside; they constitute what are in the peasants' minds their

"current controlling places" where almost a majority of them have passed through. The major offices above the county level are where basic-level cadres pass through. At no time is the workstyle -- the party's workstyle, literary style, conversational style, the style of meetings -- of the people of these major offices not influencing the cadres and masses over whom their power extends. Getting a handle on the major offices is not the same as getting a handle on party committees; getting a handle on party committees is getting a handle on their leading groups, but getting a handle on the major offices is doing so on everybody therein so as to make every public functionary in those major offices realize that he is a component nerve of those nerve centers. In the case of a party committee getting a handle on the major offices, it is getting a handle on itself and also getting a handle on "the darkness underneath the lamp itself." If we select several honest and devoted as well as corrupt and incompetent major offices and dissect them in the newspapers somewhat, that would surely incur some stronger reaction; and that is also an important swing of the sword for enforcing strict management. So long as the major offices collect and renovate themselves, the other divisions and bureaus and minor offices should also experience a turn for the better.

Actually, the provincial party committee, in grasping the major offices during an earlier period, has achieved some results; this has been inspiring. Is it possible to call upon other levels to also grasp the major offices as the provincial party committee did?

Respectfully, Niu Yijian, 9 September

New Scene

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 83 p 1

[Report by Gao Wei [7559 0251] and Cui Haifang [1508 3189 2397]: "Arresting Four Devious Trends, Establishing Four New Trends: New Scene Emerging from the 'Major Offices' of Organs in the Qiaodong District, Shijiazhuang Municipality"]

[Text] After sustained and continuing rectification, a new scene has now emerged from the "major offices" of the party and government organs in the Qiaodong District in Shijiazhuang municipality.

Among the "major offices" in Qiaodong District, there are the district party committee, the standing committee of the district people's congress, the district government and the 36 units under its jurisdiction, and over 300 working personnel. This "major complex" has, around the key question of rectifying its workstyle, chosen to handle "inadequacy" on the basis of handling "dirtiness." Since the launching of activities of the civility and courtesy month in March, the district party committee has also suggested the "arrest of four devious trends and establishment of four new trends" as the key content of its rectification campaign. Since the delivery of the provincial party committee's directive on the rectification of the "major offices" of the various organs, they have insisted on high standards and strict requirements and thus achieved conspicuous results.

Arresting the lax, wrangling workstyle and establishing the new workstyle of intense work and thorough handling of matters: The three leading groups of the district party committee, the standing committee of the district people's congress and district government have consecutively established various work regulations; all departments have formulated their "confines of duty and responsibility"; all individuals have specified their "individual responsibility system" and post such formulations on the wall so as to effect mutual supervision and conscientious implementation. With respect to instances of foot-dragging and wrangling, they take the initiative to try to solve them and do a thorough job thereof. There was one local resident who discovered that while his predecessor implemented the current policy of returning the housing unit he occupied, he also left a great deal of garbage behind; for this matter the resident ran to 10-plus departments to ask them to help solve the matter, the departments somehow kept passing the buck and nobody cared to bother. In May this y-ar, the responsible comrades of the district personally led the cadres of the organs to participate in the necessary work to remove the "garbage hill"; the appealing resident was so moved that he set off firecrackers to celebrate the event, and masses in eight of the nearby hutongs all applauded with pleasure. Today, cadres of the organs have already nurtured the fine workstyle of finishing today's work today and pushing all work forward.

Arresting the devious trend of being perfunctory, sporting a bureaucratic tone and speaking only bureaucratic words and establishing the new trend of going deeply into the field of current work, speaking genuine words and handling matters practically: The district leaders have been stressing going deep down to realistic situations; whatever can be solved on the spot must not be brought back to the office for the needed solution. The district governor, Zhang Mourong [1728 5399 2837], has taken the lead to go to the cotton textile plant that had once been forced to suspend its operations because of stagnant sale of its products to help elect "enlightened people" to direct its production and start the production of new products; very quickly he enabled this plant to reverse its passive situation and fulfill its production duties for 4 full months ahead of time. Under the spurring of the leading comrades, all departments proceeded to do their work in a penetrating and down-to-earth manner. Comrades in the industrial and commercial bureaus changed their past method of staying in their own organs; they wore their badges of public service and took along their business licenses to go deep into the eight trading markets and main streets under their jurisdiction to work and solve problems on the spot. Working personnel of the district women's federation and judicial bureau combined to go deep into the various enterprises and streets to launch such activities as holding a good class on the legal system, solving a family dispute, helping a fallen youth, and urging the building of "five-good homes"; they played a fine role in promoting a turn for the better in social customs. Working personnel of the district organs warmly received the masses from the basic level on their business trips and generally saw to it that they would "first rise from their seats, secondly pour some water for them, and thirdly ask what they want." People reacted by saying that when they reached the district offices they felt as if they had reached home.

Arresting the devious trend of going through back doors and plotting for private gains by utilizing one's own power and establishing the new trend of

handling matters with impartiality and wholeheartedly in the interests of the people: For the sake of implementing the "Guiding Principles," the district party committee has put forward concrete demands to see to it that what the others do would be done by the leading cadres themselves first. Thus the 18 cadres at the district level refrained from seeking any particular privileges for themselves and none of them sought to demand housing allocations from the basic level. In the case of certain departments which set a premium on their power by seeking private gains, both the district party committee and the district government chose to treat them solemnly and insisted on correcting them. When inspecting the food hygiene of individual economies, the epidemic-prevention station, after collecting money which it should not have collected, went even further to buy goods from them in the name of welfare and distribute them to its staff and workers, leaders of the district party committee and district government, apart from publicly criticizing it, also charged the responsible person of the station to scrutinize the incident and have the public funds turned into private ones after the promulgation of the "Guiding Principles" returned and repaid into the public coffer. In the case of individual cadres of the industrial, commercial and tax units who resorted to a devious form of extortion, the district leaders paid very great attention to grasping the clues to effect criticism and correction accordingly. All departments paid attention to following business ethics, rectifying party workstyle and making strict demands upon themselves.

Arresting the devious trend of remaining ignorant and doing nothing and establishing the new trend of studying diligently and surging forward in struggle: There has been a thriving atmosphere among the cadres of departments in the "major complex" to learn from and catch up with the advanced; their zeal in undertaking study became fully asserted. The party committee conscientiously grasped as an important question the adherence to political and professional study in the improvement of the quality of our cadres; as much as 40 percent of our total comrades participated in evening universities, television universities and journal universities to engage in various forms of professional and cultural study. Working personnel in the various departments sought to practice and delve in whatever they were doing; everyone tried to become an expert and to improve his operational skills. The district finance bureau absorbed more than 50 new tax-collecting cadres; a training class was held within the bureau, with old workers breaking in new workers and everybody learning as he practiced; each soon succeeded in being able to handle his present work with competence.

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CSO: 4005/277

NORTH REGION

SHANXI PEOPLE'S CONGRESS MEETING CONCLUDES

HK250327 Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Jan 84

[Summary] The fifth meeting of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee concluded in Taiyuan on 24 January. Vice Chairman Wang Bichen presided at the closing session. The meeting approved a resolution on a report on the situation in readjusting and reforming ordinary education in the province and giving views on future work. "The resolution demanded that mobilization be carried out to do a good job in the following tasks: 1) Introduce universal primary education; 2) develop agrotechnical and vocational technical education; 3) strive to improve the quality of education; 4) strengthen the building of the force of teachers; 5) increase investment in brain-power; 6) strengthen leadership over educational work."

The meeting approved a resolution on amending the detailed regulations governing elections to people's congresses at all levels in Shanxi, and adopted regulations on land requisition for state construction projects.

The meeting decided to make the following appointments: (Zhao Xin) to be director of the provincial family planning committee; (Liu Jie) to be director of the provincial food bureau; and (Duan Qingshi) to be director of the general office of the provincial government.

The meeting also approved the main points of work for the provincial people's congress standing committee in 1984, as follows: "To make preparations for convening the second session of the sixth provincial people's congress; to hold a meeting every 2 months; to improve the quality of meetings; to step up local legislation and supervision of laws; to guide the elections for county and township people's congresses; to improve and strengthen inspections and investigations; to strengthen ties with people's deputies and the masses; and to sum up and exchange experiences in the work of local people's congress standing committees."

The meeting was attended by Chairman Ruan Bosheng and Vice Chairmen Huo Fan, Chen Sigong, Ma Guishu, Jiang Yi, Guo Qinan, and Wei Yunyu. Present as observers were Governor Wang Senhao, Vice Governor Zhang Weiqing, court and procuratorate leaders, and others.

CSO: 4005/352

NORTH REGION

BRIEFS

SHANXI TALENT DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION--Taiyuan, 27 Jan (XINHUA)--China's first talent development corporation has been established here in the capital of Shanxi Province. The corporation's sponsors are Professor Chen Huibo, himself an inventor, and a number of other scientists. Chen said the new business would seek out and collect innovations and help inventors or engineers complete their research projects. The corporation also recommends the results of its research to interested parties, he added. The corporation supports itself by offering technical consultancy services and technology transfer. It was funded with a grant of 150,000 yuan (about 75,000 U.S. dollars) from the Shanxi provincial government. It also supplies information and experimental equipment to those who come to it for help, and calls in specialists to aid applicants whose scientific ideas it seems practical. Since its founding last September, the corporation has branched out into training courses including calligraphy, seal-engraving, traditional Chinese medicine and bio-medical science. The classes have so far been attended by 400 people. [Text] [OW270727 Beijing XINHUA in English 0633 GMT 27 Jan 84]

CSO: 4000/194

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

SHANXI PLA LEADER FINDS MILITIA CADRE PROBLEMS

HK260153 Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 25 Oct 83

[Text] Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee Standing Committee member and Military District Commander (Zhang Guangyou) recently led a work group to 10 counties and cities where he held 13 forums and spoke with 95 people's armed forces department cadres, and also had a broad exchange of views with responsible comrades of the prefectural and county CPC committees. Through investigation, he found out that, in the current building of the people's armed forces departments, the cadres' mental outlook fails to meet the demands of creating a new situation in militia work, their professional ability does not match the criteria for militia work, and their work methods are not commensurate with the organizational structure of the armed forces departments.

In view of these problems, (Zhang Guangyou) seriously studied solutions with the other comrades. They held: It is necessary to start with ideology and ensure that every cadre firmly embraces the idea of dedicating himself to the work of the people's armed forces departments and establishes the revolutionary spirit of arduous pioneering. Second, it is necessary to improve the cadres' educational standards and level of professional competence, and to be expert in one thing and good at many in militia work. Third, it is essential to improve work methods and style. At ordinary times, it is necessary to get a good grasp of building the grassroots militia companies. Fourth, it is necessary to spontaneously respect and obey the leadership of the local party committees and act as their general staff. It is necessary to run the militia to focus on the central tasks, bring into full play their shock force role in industrial and agricultural production and in carrying out urgent, difficult, and heavy tasks, and strive to fulfill the tasks assigned by the local party committees.

CSO: 4005/354

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

GUANGDONG MILITARY PARADE--To create a new situation in the regularized training of the PLA units and to strengthen the regularized building of the organs, the Guangdong Military District held a parade this morning. Zhang Juhui, commander of the Guangdong Military District; Zhang Mingyuan, political commissar; and elderly comrades who have stepped down to the second line; reviewed the march-past formations organized by cadres of organs of the Guangdong Military District, air crew, and members of its subordinate detachments. This parade was held in accordance with Central Military Commission instruction that the PLA units must hold march-past parades. Moreover, it was held to carry out an all-round inspection of the soldiers' discipline, appearance and bearing and of the military qualities of the organs and subordinate detachments. After the parade, Commander Zhang Juhui spoke at the meeting on the problems of how to strengthen the regularized building of the organs and PLA units. [Text] [HK261442 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Cantonese 1130 GMT 25 Jan 84]

MILITARY PUBLISHING HOUSE NAME CHANGE--Beijing, 24 Jan (XINHUA)--The Central Military Commission [zhong yang jun wei 0022 1135 6511 1201] has approved that "The Chinese People's Liberation Army Fighters' Publishing House" be renamed "The Chinese People's Liberation Army Publishing House," or, in abbreviated form, "The Liberation Army Publishing House." The Liberation Army Publishing House is the sole comprehensive publishing house of the armed forces. Its tasks are publishing military, political, cultural, specialized, and technical teaching materials and manuals and regulations for the Central Military Commission and various general departments. At the same time, it also compiles and publishes books, periodicals, and reference books. In addition to primarily serving military readers its publications are also for civilian readers. The Liberation Army Publishing House will successively publish works on military sciences; books for popular consumption on military theories and the ancient Chinese art of war; books on military history; series of books on ideological education for youth in the PLA, advanced deeds of PLA0 heroes and model persons, and modern military sciences and technology; and revolutionary memoirs on the great exploits of revolutionaries of the older generation. [Text] [OW240845 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0141 GMT 24 Jan 84]

GANSU PLA PRODUCTION--Gansu Provincial Military District has developed agricultural and sideline production. Since 1982, the military district has produced some 9 million jin of grain, some 700,000 jin of meat of all kinds, and some 6 million jin of vegetables. The military district has both provided its units and supplied the masses in the localities with a part of these agricultural and sideline products, which include over 640,000 jin of grain and oil-bearing crops. The provincial military district recently held a conference on agricultural and sideline production in PLA units to exchange experiences and to formulate a new plan for agricultural and sideline production. [Summary] [HK041245 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Jan 84]

CSO: 4005/354

FUTURE OF HONG KONG ANALYZED

Hong Kong CHI-SHI NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 12, Dec 83 pp 10-14

[Article by Li Yi [2621 183]]: "Some Controversial Questions As We Face the 1997 Problem"

[Text] Whether they are for or against having the people of Hong Kong rule Hong Kong, there is general consensus on one point, namely to keep communism out. The contradiction between nationalistic sentiments and the awareness of the realities has people confused, bewildered and shirking the issue. The key question in the democratization of Kong Hong is still the question how to forestall the intrusion of the Chinese community.

At a small symposium some time earlier, this writer discussed with a few friends certain concepts that have become rather muddled since the advent of the 1997 problem, and we attempted a clarification along realistic, logical and reasoned lines. I respectfully present here the gist of our symposium to allow our reader friends to further discuss them. Of course, they contain the personal opinions of this writer, as well as the opinions of friends at the symposium.

I. The Common Element in the Pros and Cons of Hong Kong To Be Ruled by the People of Hong Kong

I remember once watching an act at a show which was called "a wrestling match between two short fellows." On stage, two shorties seemed to be jostling, tripping and bouncing each other around, but at the end of the act the actor would straighten himself, remove his costume and reveal to the audience that he was only one tall fellow who had acted the movements of two wrestlers.

This self-wrestling act made me think that in life people often act similarly. People like fighting, sometimes for bread, sometimes for love and sometimes they think they fight someone else but actually have themselves as the target of their struggle. The profusion of fruitless arguments, the frequent self-inflicted reverses in some countries, and the daily inconstancies within certain organizations (playing chess with themselves), isn't that all a kind of a "wrestling match between two short fellows"?

The same seems to be true with the many controversies about the 1997 problem. Apart from expressions that are preposterously unrealistic, those that analyze

the situation somewhat sensibly have both parties of the argument frequently holding views that do not differ at all on the main principles. From the looks of it, they seem to be doing a "wrestling match between two short fellows."

To give an example, this year the main argument was on whether the people of Hong Kong should rule Hong Kong. There seem to be two opinions, one that agrees to have the people of Hong Kong rule Hong Kong, and one that opposes this view and proposes to maintain the status quo. However, both factions have one thing in common, namely both are averse to direct or indirect rule of Hong Kong by the Chinese communists, and both harbor the anxiety over a future political interference in Hong Kong by the Chinese communists. The point in which the two factions differ is that those who propound the idea of self-rule by the people of Hong Kong believe the Chinese communists will not interfere, or believe that efforts by the people of Hong Kong can keep the Chinese communists from interfering. The faction that opposes the idea of having Hong Kong ruled by the people of Hong Kong, on the other hand, do not believe the Chinese communists will not interfere, or even if the sincerity of the Chinese communists of the present day can be trusted, experience affirms that the Chinese communists will finally not be able to resist the temptation to interfere and will then gradually destroy Hong Kong's prosperity, stability and free life style.

Apart from this, the majority of those who support the idea of self-rule by the people of Hong Kong are also not against maintaining the status quo. However, only in the face of the repeated assertions by the Chinese communists that they will reclaim sovereignty and jurisdiction over Hong Kong in 1997, and only knowing that in this event it will not be possible to maintain the status quo, do they feel compelled to take the view that Hong Kong should be ruled by the people of Hong Kong as a possibility to avert direct rule by the Chinese communists. On the other hand, the majority of those who favor maintaining the status quo are in fact also not against self-rule by the people of Hong Kong. It is only that they believe that in consideration of past experiences and power politics, genuine self-rule by the people of Hong Kong will be impossible, and that Hong Kong would then be ruled by the people of Hong Kong in a form where actual rule would be exercised by the Chinese communists from "behind the screen" as in the case of certain Chinese empresses of old.

In our investigations of certain popular opinions or in the statements of certain people, we discovered the following contradiction: they endorse self-rule by the people of Hong Kong, but at the same time have no confidence in rule of Hong Kong by the people of Hong Kong, and, furthermore, think that Hong Kong's prospects, if ruled by the people of Hong Kong, would be worse than under the status quo. They believe that it would be best to maintain the status quo, but at the same time also believe that it would be impossible to maintain the status quo, and that it is imperative to seek a change on one's own initiative. Summed up, these contradictory opinions converge on one point, namely regardless of whether for or against self-rule by the people of Hong Kong, the common objective and point of departure is indeed always a rejection of the direct or indirect extension of the Chinese communists domination over Hong Kong. There are people in Hong Kong who epitomize these conflicting sentiments in the simple term "keep communism out."

Keeping out communism is not the same as opposing communism, as it does not appear to be an ideologically engendered political motivation, but in the main merely a kind of attitude of self-preservation. The main objective of keeping communism out is not a rebuff of the CPC, but a rejection of the governing practices of a communist party, including its monolithic leadership, its patriarchal system and its intolerance of dissenting views. It also includes rejection of the economic system of centralized state monopolies and of the lifestyle where all thinking is concentrated on one item of reverence. If it were the British or the Soviet communist parties that would want to extend their rule over Hong Kong, we believe they would be equally rejected by the people of Hong Kong. The anxiety of the people of Hong Kong therefore focuses on "communism" and not on "Chinese" in reference to Chinese communism.

II. Repressed Sentiments of Nationalism

The communistic and not the Chinese ingredient in Chinese communism is what causes the people of Hong Kong anxiety as to their future prospects. When this point is fully understood and grasped, all other irrelevant concepts that are dragged in can be easily cleared up.

In all the various ideas engendered by the 1997 problem, the one that is most puzzling, and that people find most difficult to face up to, is the question of nationalism.

Communist China's leadership regards an extension of British rule over Hong Kong as equivalent to the signing of the unequal treaties by the Manchu government with Great Britain and has indicated that this would make them into new Li Hongzhang-types. Many Hong Kong residents too, overawed by the righteous cause of nationalism, would feel it to be wrong, or would feel too ashamed to utter a demand for maintenance of the status quo, as if a statement to that effect would be in some ways "sinful."

However, is the Hong Kong question a question of colonialism and nationalism? Is it not true that all Chinese in Hong Kong demand that Hong Kong revert to the motherland, rather than having the British continue their forcible occupation? Li Hongzhang's treaty for the cessation of territory and payment of indemnity in the time of the Manchu Dynasty was certainly doing great harm to the interests of the Chinese people, but would not the present maintenance or extension of Hong Kong's political condition also harm the interests of the Chinese people? When the Manchu government was defeated and had the enemy standing at the gates, it was compelled to sign the unequal treaties that ceded territory and promised indemnities. That certainly was a humiliation, but if the British now make one trip after the other to Beijing for negotiations in quest of a plan, acceptable to China, Great Britain and the people of Hong Kong, a plan that would provide a solution for the problem of Hong Kong's future, is there any Chinese humiliation to speak of in such activities?

Speaking of the actual conditions in Hong Kong, is Great Britain intensifying its foreign oppression of the Hong Kong Chinese, or is it gradually yielding and retreating before China? In the case of the one and only ideological control in Hong Kong, film censorship, it is a fact that the film "Lin Zexu"

was banned, but in recent years films that condemn British colonialism, such as "Ghandi" and "The Burning of the Yuanmingyuan" were given the green light, while certain films that criticize Mainland China, such as "The Land of Their Majesties" and "If I Had Been Real" were banned from showings. These facts demonstrate that as neighbors of the mighty People's Republic, British rule over Hong Kong is in actual fact much restricted by communist China.

For many years Great Britain has been implementing a national policy of decolonization. In the face of the growing influence of communist China, will Great Britain's policy toward Hong Kong show an intensification of its colonialism or on the contrary rather plan for a continuous retreat?

Speaking of the experiences of the residents of Hong Kong, do we in recent years feel an increasing severity of the British colonial rule or an increasing weakening of it? Is the influence of communist China in Hong Kong increasing or decreasing? Faced with the prospect that Hong Kong will revert to China, are the people of Hong Kong concerned that Great Britain will drag its feet and not leave, or are they concerned that on the contrary Great Britain will abandon Hong Kong?

The answers to the above questions are very obvious. For the solution of the problem of Hong Kong's future, to drag in nationalism has mainly relevance as a Chinese awareness of history, of the legally constituted authority and kinship ideas, but it lacks any foundation and concrete substance in the context of current social and international political realities. Furthermore, the above-mentioned historical, legal and kinship concepts are basically emotional and at times even irrational. (For instance: "Right or wrong, it is my fatherland, my mother," or "If government is not what it ought to be after we take over, this is our prerogative and must be of no concern to you Englishmen," etc.)

Do the people of Hong Kong have nationalistic feelings? Of course, they have nationalistic feelings because they have experienced long years of foreign rule. In all military clashes of the past between China and India, Soviet Russia, Vietnam and other countries, the people and press of Hong Kong always stood one-sidedly on the side of China. However, if nationalistic contradictions directly influence the lives of the people of Hong Kong, the people will also give considerations to the realities of the situation. In the 1967 riots, the Leftists already once wielded the big banner of nationalism, which had some influence on some, but was ultimately not of any great effect. This is, of course, only one aspect of the sense of reality in Hong Kong people, but it explains at the same time that even though nationalism has a place in the traditional thinking of the Chinese people, it has to be linked to the realities in order to have an effect in all stages of life. It means it will have a real effect only if it is rooted in reality. Otherwise, the great cause of nationalism in the abstract will always cause ideological confusion, regression, evasiveness and prove unable to produce any positive effects.

Swayed by a contradiction of nationalistic ideas and an awareness of the realities, the majority of the people of Hong Kong do not oppose the ultimate

return of Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty, but they will become doubtful about it if this transformation is to be realized in the foreseeable future and if it will furthermore lead to the direct or indirect rule by communist China over Hong Kong.

Swayed by the contradiction of nationalistic ideas and the awareness of the realities, the majority of the people of Hong Kong are certainly indifferent to the departure of the British, but the people of Hong Kong will equally become doubtful about it if Hong Kong is to lose its international position after the departure of the British, and if this will lead to changes in the present institutions and lifestyle, lead to communist China's interferences, or if it means no further effective protection against upheavals on the mainland spilling over into Hong Kong.

Therefore, as far as the people of Hong Kong are concerned, their nationalism in its significance for Hong Kong's future has--in emotional respects--not yet turned in the foreseeable future. If it were not so, the British would have long ago been unable to maintain their rule. From a more rational angle, it is completely out of the question, because there is hardly anyone, we can say, who reckons that the conditions of Hong Kong will improve after China recovers it. This can be clearly seen from the financial fluctuations.

Of course, looking at the problem of Hong Kong's future from another angle, nationalism is not altogether without relevance, because if we agree that entering into a relationship with China is not the same as doing so with any other political power, and if we consider the problem from the point of view of real benefit for the Chinese people, then we believe many people will admit: to retain the political status quo in Hong Kong is of greater advantage for China's modernization and democratization than allowing Hong Kong to revert to China. In the past, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai have all along maintained this viewpoint, namely that it was of greater advantage for China not to reclaim Hong Kong. If a realistic nationalism were not the point of departure in the past, the Chinese communists would have had to recover Hong Kong as early as 1949.

III. Theory and Reality of Democratization

For quite a number of Hong Kong intellectuals, especially the young ones, self-rule by the people of Hong Kong seems to provide an opportunity for the realization of democracy in Hong Kong. As we all know, even though rule by law is well developed in Hong Kong and there is abundant freedom, Hong Kong is basically not democratic in its political institutions. A person with political aspirations and a desire to fully display his political abilities and put them to good use has practically no way to participate in government and political affairs unless he signs up for the government office examinations or achieves an extremely outstanding position in society, thus bringing himself to the notice of those in power, who may then appoint him as councilor. In recent years elections have taken place for regional councilors, but their powers of office and influences are very limited. With the practice of government by law, the prevailing freedom and an elevated level of education, there are of course people in the society who demand participation in government and political affairs. Some deride such demands as wild political ambitions,

but even if it is that, there is nothing wrong with it. If China regains sovereignty and realizes self-government for the people of Hong Kong, it would open up prospects for many people to engage in democratic participation in government. Finally, demands have been put forward in terms of "democratic rule of Hong Kong by the people of Hong Kong," and "democracy for the people of Hong Kong and Hong Kong law to govern Hong Kong," all such proposals having the same idea, namely to realize a democratization in Hong Kong.

There are many conditions for a realization of democratization. The problem is extremely complex, and we shall discuss here only one important point, namely the problem of the source of political power. The basic framework in the democratization of a certain place is that the political power of those in government derive from the people. The present political power of the Hong Kong Government has its source in the British Government, and the source of power of the British Government is the British Parliament, elected by the British people. If Hong Kong is to realize democratization in future, the source of power of the Hong Kong Government must be the people of Hong Kong, that means, the legislative, judicial and executive power structure must be elected by the people of Hong Kong. Unless the problem of the source of power is solved, there will be no framework for democratization.

If it will be possible in future to maintain Hong Kong's legal system and also to refrain from changing its prevailing free lifestyle, it would not at all be impossible under such conditions to gradually raise the political consciousness of the people by increasing their opportunities to participate in government, to change the mentality of a great number of those people who now regard Hong Kong as a temporary lodging place away from home and to build up a democratized structure through elections at the grassroots. The question is whether the communist Chinese authorities will allow Hong Kong to proceed on this path of democratization.

Judging from official communist Chinese documents and relevant utterances by various communist Chinese leaders, there is not the slightest indication that a self-governing Hong Kong would have the possibility of realizing its democratization.

First of all, Article 31 of the constitution stipulates: "The organizational system to be instituted in special administrative regions shall be prescribed by law enacted by the National People's Congress."

This indicates that the final authority that will determine the laws, regulations and policies of a future Hong Kong will not be in Hong Kong, but vested with the National People's Congress. It also means that although the people of Hong Kong will have certain legislative powers, the exercise of these powers must be approved by a nationwide assembly. The National People's Congress has, of course, also the power to change the organizational system instituted in the special administrative regions.

Second, Deng Liqun [672 0500 5028], Minister of Propaganda in the PRC, stated that communist China will appoint a "patriotic personality" to be the administrative head of the future Hong Kong. This method of appointment

implies clearly that Beijing will be the source for all political power in the political system of the future Hong Kong. This power will not derive from the local inhabitants of Hong Kong, as those who had advocated a "democratic rule of Hong Kong" had imagined. As to who will qualify as a "patriotic personality," this will of course be defined by the authority making the appointment.

Third, communist China has recently repeatedly emphasized that unless an agreement is reached by September next year in the Sino-British negotiations, China will unilaterally announce a plan for the solution of the problem of Hong Kong's future. However, communist China has so far not yet indicated that it will have the people of Hong Kong participate in determining the plan, although it is a plan that will so directly affect the fate of Hong Kong's more than 5 million people.

Fourth, the communist Chinese press constantly refers to "China's 1 billion people including 5 million Hong Kong compatriots." The intentions of the 5 million people are thereby incorporated into the 1 billion people, which indicates that in the mind of the leaders of communist China, it is the 1 billion people who are to make decisions of principle regarding Hong Kong politics, and not the 5 million people of Hong Kong.

Fifth, Hu Yaobang expressed in a meeting with Japanese correspondents that the Shenzhen special region may serve as example for a future Hong Kong, and added that another 13½ years will allow accumulating further experiences for the future administration of Hong Kong. His talk reveals that communist China intends to treat Hong Kong the way it treats Shenzhen, to establish administrative control and have none of the "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong," which it had promised.

Democracy in the final analysis is a question of the source of power. To have the people as the source of power can only be assured by grassroots elections.

It may be argued that it is regular procedure to have the head of the administration appointed by the central authorities. If he were elected locally without the need of a central authority appointment, would that not smack of independence?

A consideration of the prevailing realities does not allow the majority of the people of Hong Kong to dare think of independence. However, a relative independence under Chinese sovereignty would obviously be a solution to the question of the source of power. If the regional powers of Hong Kong were to be basically derived from the nationwide power structures of the 1 billion people, and even if there is no doubt in the sincerity of the present communist Chinese leadership of wanting "Hong Kong ruled by the people of Hong Kong," there would undoubtedly be jealousy among the other provinces and municipalities when they see Hong Kong's prosperity, freedom, rule by law and standard of living. In that case, the delegates and the administrative head of Hong Kong would find themselves in an embarrassing position in the National People's Congress, and the question would finally be asked at the congress why a small territory with only 0.5 percent of the population should enjoy such singular well-being. The result is easy to foresee.

Furthermore, even though the present leaders of communist China may be sincere in allowing Hong Kong to maintain a relative independence, the local powers of Hong Kong would still be derived from the nationwide power structure. Each time there is a change in the personalities of the nationwide leadership team of communist China, the people of Hong Kong will have to ask whether Hong Kong will be allowed to continue to enjoy this kind of relative independence.

Even though the leftist press also advocates "democratic rule of Hong Kong by the people of Hong Kong," and even if responsible people of relevance express that after the problems of recovering sovereignty and jurisdiction will have been settled in negotiations with the British, the details of "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong" would easily find their "complete settlement in negotiations" with the people of Hong Kong, the leadership strata of communist China have never so far mentioned any "democratic rule by Hong Kong by the people of Hong Kong." On the contrary, they talk of making appointments, requiring a patriotic personality as administrative head, of Shenzhen serving as example and of the provisions of Article 31 of the constitution. In brief, there is no indication that communist China will allow Hong Kong a democratic system of government in which powers are derived from the people.

Considering the situation from a more realistic angle, we are afraid, democratization is not the first priority in solving the problem of Hong Kong's future. For the realization of a genuine self-government in Hong Kong, the first item to determine must be Hong Kong's relationship to China and to write this into the constitution. The second item must be to guarantee Hong Kong's international ties in order to forestall an extensive interference by Beijing in Hong Kong. The third item is government by law. The fourth item is a free lifestyle. If there are no guarantees for government by law and freedom, democracy will be nothing but an empty word. Only if the above four items are guaranteed, can there be any talk of democratization.

IV. Is the Realistic Approach the One That Ought To Be Followed?

Another mental attitude supporting "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong" is based on the realities of the situation. Seeing that communist China has repeatedly and earnestly declared its determination to recover sovereignty and have Hong Kong governed by the people of Hong Kong, and being aware of the fact that in 1997 Great Britain will also lose its legal basis for its control of Hong Kong, most people realize that communist China's recovery of Hong Kong is a reality. Some people therefore believe that those who oppose "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong" are not only blind to reality, but actually cherish an unrealistic illusion--the illusion that the British can be made to stay.

Many people are of the opinion that the most realistic approach is to support the communist Chinese "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong," and later--within the scope determined by communist China--strive for a little more self-determination and a little more democracy; any thought of being able

to get out of communist China's restrictive framework is unrealistic and therefore pure fantasy.

Yet another even more realistic version is the argument that it was already a hard job to have the leadership of communist China promise "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong." The people of Hong Kong should, therefore, not again quibble or show dissatisfaction, as communist China may in that case not even grant this condition of "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong," that it is now promising.

The inherent idea in this type of thinking is: the realistic approach is the one that ought to be followed.

Hence, pointing out that "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong" cannot preserve Hong Kong's prosperity is regarded as something that must not be done. At the same time, expressing discontent with communist China's recovery of sovereignty and its principle of "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong" also becomes something that must not be done, because it may possibly infuriate the communist Chinese and induce them to revoke the present favorable conditions.

Hence, whether right or wrong, whether for a happy or a dismal future, we only have to express our approval and support, and resign ourselves to adversity, because it is the realistic approach that ought to be followed.

Is the realistic approach really tantamount to the one that ought to be followed? The people of Hong Kong are the creators of Hong Kong's prosperity. Since both China and Great Britain acknowledge the value of Hong Kong's prosperity, they should also respect the people who are the direct creators of Hong Kong's prosperity and acknowledge the right of the people of Hong Kong to make the fundamental decisions concerning the future political system and lifestyle of their own society. It is, therefore, wrong to force upon the people of Hong Kong a government system which the people of Hong Kong cannot accept, or will have no confidence in, or consider as providing less beneficial prospects compared with the present condition. Such action would violate the principle of human rights, as it would also be unfair to treat in this manner the very people who created the prosperity of Hong Kong.

It is, therefore, necessary to add to the principle of the realistic approach the principle of justice. In their views on politics, the intellectuals must, of course, not be downright pedantic bookworms and completely disregard reality, but even less should they be disregarding justice. The principle of justice must at all times be placed above the principle of the realistic approach.

Furthermore, viewed from the standpoint of the principle of realistic approach, if genuine "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong" is to be realized, the problems of the source of power for Hong Kong's local government and to whom it will be answerable must be solved. If the delegation of power from Beijing is ultimately a responsibility of the Chinese National People's Congress, there can be no genuine self-government for the people of Hong Kong.

If this principle is not clearly stated, and one were to go along accepting the communist Chinese restrictive framework as valid and applicable, it would only mislead the leaders of communist China to believe that the "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong," as they plan it, is receiving growing support and endorsement, and it will deter them from making an effort to provide the guarantees that will set the mind of the people of Hong Kong at ease. To pander to the restrictive framework of a communist Chinese "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong" would be truly unrealistic and illusory.

Very obviously we are touching here on two kinds of illusions, one concerning Great Britain, in the assumption that British sovereignty over Hong Kong could be extended, and the other concerning China, in the assumption that the Chinese communists will grant Hong Kong a genuine self-government.

However, no one need be reproached for having these two kinds of illusions. They embody the demands of the people of Hong Kong, namely the hope for what they want to be preserved or want to get: preservation of Hong Kong's independence and avoidance of communist China's interferences.

Whatever plan is being suggested, it is extremely important to understand what we want; any principle or plan that restricts our demands would be extremely narrowminded.

To make to clearer: communist China hopes that the people of Hong Kong will at the start support China's recovery of sovereignty and their "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong," while the details of it could be easily negotiated at a later date. The people of Hong Kong, however, should first demand legal guarantees for the source of power in the "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong" proposed by communist China, and should only then support the communist Chinese "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong."

V. "Moving Lips" and "Moving Legs"

Ren Zhongyi [0117 0112 1138], secretary of the Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee, once used a vivid expression when he said: "The superior man moves his lips and not his legs." "Moving lips" means speaking out on the problems of Hong Kong's future, which of course also comprises criticism of communist China's policy toward Hong Kong, while "moving legs" means migrating elsewhere.

Now that communist China has put forward its demand for recovery of sovereignty and proposed self-management for the people of Hong Kong, let us look at the different reactions shown by the people of Hong Kong in their "moving lips" and "moving legs."

The people who "move lips" and do not "move legs" are of different groups.

One group has the ability to leave, but trusts in the promise of "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong." They are now engaged in various

preparations for the future "democratic government of Hong Kong." In their utterances, too, they actively respond favorably to the communist Chinese principles of recovery of sovereignty and self-government for the people of Hong Kong.

One group has no possibility of leaving and does not think of leaving, but has confidence in "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong," or at least wants to give it a try and leave it to further human efforts. They also work hard to raise the political consciousness of the people of Hong Kong.

There is another group of people who have no confidence in "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong," who also have no way to leave, or do not intend to leave Hong Kong, but who can point out advantages and disadvantages, which in actual fact is presenting severe criticism as a means of bargaining with the Chinese communists.

Among the above three groups of people who "move lips" and do not "move legs," there is a difference in substance in what they say when they "move lips," and they appear to be at odds with each other, but they are all people who will not be "moving legs." In their relevance to what Ren Zhongyi demands, one may say there is no difference between the three groups.

However, the vast majority of people will neither "move lips" nor "move legs." They are Hong Kong's silent majority. They do not trust the "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong," but have also no way to leave Hong Kong, or they are people who cannot bring themselves to leave Hong Kong yet. As a result, they cannot but drift along, facing a rather gray and dreary future and busying themselves with making money.

Some people "move legs" and do not "move lips," or while "moving legs" also "move lips." They have no confidence in Hong Kong's future, either saying so or not speaking out at all, but they have the possibility to leave Hong Kong and, therefore, either have already prepared, or are actively preparing, their migration elsewhere. Since these people have no confidence, we must not criticize them too harshly for planning their own personal way out.

There is also a group of people who "move lips" as well as "move legs," but what they say is of quite a different tune. In their heart of hearts they also have no confidence in "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong," but they have the possibility to leave Hong Kong and are already preparing their migration elsewhere; what they say, however, is exactly the opposite to all this. They spare no efforts to peddle the "Hong Kong to be ruled by the people of Hong Kong" and declare themselves to be full of confidence in it. They do not say what they think, mostly out of consideration for their own personal interests, or because they have had interviews with high-ranking party functionaries of communist China, and having bought the horse, want to see him run--talk with no regard to their conscience. They ignore their own conscience when they talk. Their actions amount to treason against the people of Hong Kong; they are most despicable.

Ren Zhongyi's words, "the superior man moves his lips and not his legs," are truly enlightened, but the communist Chinese cadres do not all go along with Ren Zhongyi's line. Most recently, a publication put out by a CPC committee calls on those "perpetual squawkers," who have no confidence, to get out as soon as possible, to "let us have peace and quiet and less of any elements of chaos and unrest, so that we all can feel at ease again." It seems, therefore, that certain communist Chinese cadres do not mind if people will "move legs," because "moving legs" will not show up as an influence on prosperity. They are much concerned, however, about "moving lips," because words unpleasant to their ears are more of an annoyance than their limited patience can bear.

However, for the benefit of the people of Hong Kong, or for the benefit of China, this writer still hopes that a majority of people in Hong Kong will "move lips and not move legs."

The 1997 problem is no doubt a problem of unparalleled complexity. We are directly in it. In the face of all the multifarious statements, it is indeed necessary to be specially cautious, keep soberminded and rational and maintain an openminded and prudent spirit. In this way alone will it be possible to avoid clinging to an erroneous opinionativeness, and will it be possible to avoid bewilderment in this great confusion of ideas.

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